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AN INTRODUCTION  
TO THE  
GOTHIC OF ULFILAS.



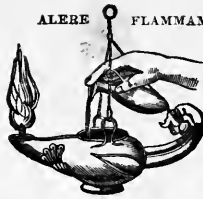
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AN  
INTRODUCTION,  
PHONOLOGICAL, MORPHOLOGICAL, SYNTACTIC,  
TO THE  
GOTHIC OF ULFILAS.  
BY  
T. LE MARCHANT DOUSE.

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LONDON:  
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1886.

ALERE FLAMMAM.



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## P R E F A C E.

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THIS book was originally designed to accompany an edition of *Ulfilas* for which I was collecting materials some eight or nine years ago, but which various considerations led me to lay aside.

As, however, it had long seemed to me equally strange and deplorable that not a single work adapted to aid a student in acquiring a knowledge of Gothic was to be found in the English book-market, I proceeded to give most of the time at my disposal to the building up of this "Introduction," on a somewhat larger scale than was at first intended, in the hope of being able to promote the study of a dialect which, apart from its native force and beauty, has special claims on the attention of more than one important class of students.

By the student of linguistic science, indeed, these claims are at once admitted; for the Gothic is one of the pillars on which rests the comparative grammar both of the older Indo-European languages in general, and also, pre-eminently, of the Teutonic cluster of dialects in particular.

But a good knowledge of Gothic is scarcely less valuable to the student of the English language,—at any rate, of the Ancient English or Anglo-Saxon; upon the phonology of which, and indeed the whole grammar, the Gothic sheds a flood of light that is not to be got from any other source.

And, again, the dialect should be one of very great interest to the Biblical student ; for in it are enshrined extensive remains of a venerable version of the New Testament which is equally valuable and instructive where it agrees with and where it differs from other and later versions.

Nevertheless, by the time my first copy was finished I had conceived a suspicion that the desire to master a language lying outside the small group usually studied in this country would be confined to so few persons that I should do almost as well in burning my copy as in printing it. Since then, however, three or four books upon Ulfilas or his language have been published in this country ; and trusting that these, as well as a slowly-growing interest in linguistic science, of which I see other signs, may have done something towards securing a welcome for a more advanced treatise, I at last venture, after subjecting it to repeated revision and much excision, to publish the present work.

I will take leave to mention, by the way, that although I have not seen any of the books just referred to, yet one of them—Prof. Skeat's edition of St. Mark, with (I think) a grammatical introduction—has had some effect upon this volume ; for I had myself, long before the appearance of the distinguished Professor's book, prepared a text of the same gospel and a sufficient vocabulary, with the intention of adding them hereto by way of appendix. These, then, I removed ; but at the same time restored the supplementary sections (114–116), which had been marked for suppression, and also, in the Syntax, quoted in full the numerous illustrations from St. Mark, which I had intended to indicate by simple reference.

The general plan of this book may be seen in the ensuing table of contents. In carrying out this plan I

have worked mainly from my own notes and lexical and other materials collected in the course of my philological reading and my frequent study of the Gothic remains ; and even where, as under Inflexion, there is a certain accepted common stock of matter which one might perhaps be excused for appropriating without much inquiry, I have still done my best to subject the whole to a re-examination.

In the Phonology an attempt is made to exemplify systematically in the Gothic the results of various researches by the foremost philologists of the continent, whose names will be mentioned as their views are referred to. The chapters on Derivation and Composition are chiefly confined to a fresh collection and arrangement of facts and instances ; although points of special importance are sufficiently discussed. The Syntax is newly planned ; the rules have been directly deduced from the usages and idioms of the Gothic remains ; and while some are probably new in substance, most of them are, I think, new in form.

I suppose that every one who is likely to enter seriously upon the study of Gothic will already be more or less skilled in speechcraft. Hence I have generally assumed, on the part of readers of this book, a knowledge of the fundamental principles and of the terminology of grammar ; and I have not always refrained from citing hypotheses and explanations which may perhaps be hereafter corrected, if not rejected,—thinking it better that the present or recent state of opinion should be known to such readers than that matters of interest should be passed over with insufficient notice.

I originally contemplated, and indeed began, a more systematic comparison between Gothic and English than now appears in the book ; but it soon became clear that to carry out such a comparison satisfactorily would

require constant reference to the older stages of our language, and would sometimes lead me far astray from my main path. I therefore abandoned it; and all the more willingly because I felt sure that such readers as could follow it profitably would be already competent, with the materials now before them, to do the work themselves; and also because, by way of compensation, I could then allow myself a little more space for the discussion of certain leading features of all Teutonic grammar,—such as the strong-verb system (§§ 22–25); the weak preterite (§ 81); and accentuation (§ 85);—not to mention many smaller matters,—such as the derivation of “eleven” and “twelve” (§ 34 (2)), and the history of “learn” (§ 43, Note 7).

As there are limits to human vigilance, it can hardly be but that, in the dense mass of details contained in this book, some errors have escaped notice. All such must be laid to my charge; for my respected printers, whom I am glad to take the opportunity of thanking, have answered with great pains and exactitude to my many calls upon their resources. A few trifling corrections are already noted on page xii; for any others that may reach me I shall be duly grateful.

London, May 1886.

T. LE M. D.



# CONTENTS.

## PRELIMINARY CHAPTER.

### THE PLACE OF THE GOTHS AND THEIR LANGUAGE IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN SYSTEM.

- § 1. Distribution of the I-E. peoples ; the Teutonic Area ;  
—2. Location of the Goths ; their connexion with Scandinavia ;—3. Movements and disappearance of the Goths ;—  
4. Ulfilas ;—5. The common origin of the I-E. languages ;—  
6. The old Teutonic dialects ; the place of Gothic among them . . . . . 1-11

## PART I.

### THE GOTHIC ALPHABET: TRANSLITERATION ; PRONUNCIATION.

- § 7. The old Runic Alphabet of the Goths ;—8. The Ulfilic Alphabet ; its relationship to the Runic and to the Greek Alphabets ;—9. Gothic Speech-sounds ; Transliteration ;—  
10. The Modernized Alphabet, with the phonetic values of the letters ;—11. Exercise in Pronunciation . . . 12-22

## PART II.

### PHONOLOGY.

- § 12. General notions ;—13. Outline of Phonetics ;—14. Symbols classified ; their proper relation to Sounds ;—15. The deduced Primitive Alphabet ;—16. Recent Modifications of some divisions of this Alphabet ;—17. The Primitive Vowel-system ; Vowel-gradation ;—18. The European Vowel-system ; illustration from the Greek ;—19. The I-E. "Sonants" in Europe and Asia ;—20. The primitive Guttural series ("Velars" and "Palatals") and their developments ;—  
21. The Teutonic Vowel-system ;—22. The Gothic Vowel-system ;—23. Vowel-gradation in Gothic ; the Perfect Tense ;—  
24. Gothic "Ablaut" Verbs as exhibiting Vowel-gradation ;—25. Reduplicating Verbs ;—26. The individual Vowel-sounds, their origin and position ;—27. The Liquids ;—28. The Nasals ;—29. The Spirants, *w*, *j* ;—30. The Sibilants ; evolution of *z* from *s* (Verner's Law) ;—31. The Gothic Mutes, their relations to the Primitive Mutes (Grimm's Law,

Verner's Law);—32. The Gutturals (Velars and Palatals);—33. The Dentals;—34. The Labials; and  $f = hw$  (with a discussion of *ainlif*, "eleven," and *twalif*, "twelve");—35. Hiatus; Apocope; "Auslautsgesetze";—36. Tabulation of Gothic Sounds; their relative frequency in actual speech.  
23-85

### PART III. MORPHOLOGY.

§ 37. General notions of Word-building; Factors of the I.-E. Word;—38. Roots; Suffixes; Derivation; Composition; Inflexion . . . . . 86-93

#### (I) DERIVATION.

§ 39. Noun-stems: those formed by *a*, *ō*, *i*, *u*;—40. by suffixes involving a consonant;—41. by suffixes involving two or more consonants;—42. Pronouns; Particles;—43. Verbs: Strong; Weak and Active (*ja*-, *ai*-, and *ō*-verbs); "Correlative Passives" . . . . . 93-117

#### (II) COMPOSITION.

§ 44. Compounds from components of coordinate grammatical rank;—45. Compounds formed by Prefixes, separable and inseparable . . . . . 117-125

#### (III) INFLEXION.

§ 46. General Notions; "Parts of Speech."

(*α*) *Substantives*.—47. "Declension"; Case-endings;—48. Gothic Vowel Declensions; *a*- and *ō*-stems;—49. *i*-stems;—50. *u*-stems;—51. Consonant Declensions; *n*-stems;—52. Stems in *-par*, *-nd*, &c.;—53. Borrowed substantives . . . . . 125-138

(*β*) *Adjectives* (including *Participles* and *Numerals*).—54. The "Strong" Adjective; its pronominal declension;—55. The Vowel or Strong Declensions; *a*- and *o*-stems;—56. *i*-stems;—57. *u*-stems;—58. Weak Adjectives; *n*-stems;—59. Comparison of Adjectives;—60. The Participles;—61. The Numerals; Cardinal, Ordinal, Indefinite . . . 138-149

(*γ*) *Pronouns*.—62. The Personal and Reflexive Pronouns;—63. The Possessives;—64. Demonstrative Pronouns (including the Article);—65. Relative Pronouns;—66. Interrogative Pronouns;—67. Distributive Pronouns;—68. Indefinite Pronouns . . . . . 149-156

(*δ*) *Verbs*.—69. "Accidents" of the Verb;—70. Conjugation;—71. Verbs of the *giba*-series;—72. Verbs of the *nima*-series;—73. Verbs of the *binda*-series;—74. Verbs of

the <i>beita</i> -series;—75. Verbs of the <i>biuga</i> -series;—76. Verbs of the <i>waka</i> -series;—77. Reduplicating Verbs;—78. Remarks on the Strong Conjugation;—79. Weak Verbs of various stem-forms, with their Preterites;—80. Irregular and Mixed Verbs (“Præterito-præsentia”; “to be” and “to will”; Verbs with contracted weak preterites) . . . . .	157–185
§ 81. <i>Excursus</i> on the Weak Preterite . . . . .	186
( <i>ε</i> ) <i>Particles</i> .—82. Classification of Adverbs;—83. Prepositions;—84. Conjunctions;—84*. Interjections. . . . .	194–200
§ 85. <i>Excursus</i> on Accentuation . . . . .	200

## PART IV.

## SYNTAX.

§ 86. General Notions;—87. Framework of Gothic Syntax. . . . .	208–213
( <i>α</i> ) <i>Substantives</i> .—88. The Nominative Case;—89. The Vocative;—90. The Accusative;—91. The Dative;—92. The Genitive . . . . .	213–222
( <i>β</i> ) <i>Adjectives</i> (with <i>Participles</i> , <i>Numerals</i> , and <i>the Article</i> ).—93. General Rules;—94. Strong Adjectives;—95. Weak Adjectives;—96. The Degrees of Adjectives;—97. The Numerals;—98. The Article . . . . .	222–229
( <i>γ</i> ) <i>Pronouns</i> .—99. General Rules;—100. Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns;—101. The intensives <i>saman-</i> and <i>silban-</i> ;—102. Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns;—103. Relative Pronouns;—104. Interrogative, Distributive, and Indefinite Pronouns . . . . .	229–241
( <i>δ</i> ) <i>Verbs</i> .—105. General Rules;—106. Voice;—107. Tense;—108. Mood: (1) Optative and Imperative; (2) Optative=Subjunctive; Mood of Questions; (3) Reported Speech; (4) Subjective and Appositional Clauses; (5) Relative Clauses; (6) Adverbial Clauses, Condition; (7) Adverbial Clauses, Reason;—(8) Adverbial Clauses, Final; (9) Adverbial Clauses, Temporal;—109. The Infinitive;—110. The Participles . . . . .	241–262
( <i>ε</i> ) <i>Particles</i> .—111. Adverbs; Prepositions; Conjunctions; Interjections . . . . .	262–265
§ 112. Question and Answer . . . . .	265
§ 113. Order of Words . . . . .	267

*Supplementary Sections.*

§ 114. The Gothic Vocabulary;—115. Specimen of Translation into Gothic;—116. Notes on § 115 . . . . .	268–275
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*Contractions and Symbols.*

D.G. = Deutsche Grammatik.—E.V. = English Version.—KZ. = Kuhn's Zeitschrift.—M.U. = Morphologische Untersuchungen.—PBB. (or Beitr.) = Paul and Braune's Beiträge.—QF. = Quellen und Forschungen.—V.G. = Vergleichende Grammatik.—WB. = Wörterbuch.—ZS. = Zeitschrift.

√ = Root; ~ = "interchanging with"; +, =, ∴, need no explanation.

Other contractions are either self-explanatory or are explained in the text (see, *e.g.*, § 5 and § 6 (2)).

*Corrections and Additions.*

In the earlier pages *e* and *o* are circumflexed (*é, ô*); for the sake of uniformity they should bear the long mark (*ē, ō*).

P. 44, Note<sup>3</sup>: *ēt, frēt*; Möller, Englische Studien, III. 154, and the authorities cited by him, should also have been referred to.

P. 65, (iv.): "*(b)* not in the vb."; add, "except in the 2 p. s. passive suffixes *-za, -zau*."

P. 80, (viii): "flanked by palatal vowels"; the argument is, that if the palato-guttural was little likely of itself to become labialized, still less so was it when its palatalism was strengthened by the palatal vowel on each side of it.

P. 93, § 39 (1): *junga-* properly belongs to § 40 (5, iv).

P. 103, (1, iii): *mundrein-* belongs to (6, vi), page 108, where it is again cited.—In (1, vi) add, *Wulfilan- = Ulfilas*.

P. 130, line 6: *ahwō-* should go under (iii) on same page.

P. 175, line 5 from bottom: for (§ 42 (2, iii)), read (§ 43 (2, iii)).

P. 206, line 14 of (ii), for "he cried out," read "and he cried out."

P. 217, first line of (viii): read, "The idiom of (vi)," not (v).

P. 233, line 18: for "noun," read "pronoun."

# AN INTRODUCTION

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---

### PRELIMINARY CHAPTER.

#### THE PLACE OF THE GOTHS AND THEIR LANGUAGE IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN SYSTEM.

1. THE term "Indo-European" (I-E.) may be used either ethnologically, to designate the family of related nations which (not to mention their colonies) occupy the greater part of Europe, together with much of Persia and India; or philologically, to designate the corresponding family of related languages and dialects which are or have been spoken by these peoples or their ancestors. At the present time, indeed, the relationship between some of these languages and others is by no means obvious; but most of them may, by the aid of more or less copious literatures, be traced back to older; and in some cases very ancient, stages; and these, if they be compared with one another, will be found to present so many points of similarity as to necessitate the conclusion that they were all derived in the main from one and the same primitive (but far from primeval) tongue. And although community of language does not always involve community of race, yet there is no reason to doubt that the ancient peoples who spoke those old languages descended in the main from one and the same primitive tribe of men who used that primitive tongue. This parent I-E. tribe (the *Urvolk* of German scholars) is believed to have had its home in the western part of the great table-land of central Asia.

There it multiplied into a widespread people (for theirs was a pastoral life), and at last probably arranged itself into clans distinguished by (among other things) diverging and well-marked dialects. At a remote epoch—it can scarcely have been later than 2000 years B.C.—this primitive folk began to break up and disperse. There was first of all, most likely, a fissure into two great sections, or clusters of clans, which, from their ultimate locations, may be called the Asiatic or Eastern (frequently called the Aryan), and the European or Western, division. The former moved southwards and settled partly in Persia and partly in India. The latter moved northwards towards the Ural mountains; and, as it also multiplied and extended, separation again and again took place, until the people were distributed over the greater part of Europe,—generally, it would seem, extirpating, perhaps also to some extent annexing or absorbing, the older and feebler races previously in possession. At the dawn of European history these once migratory clans appear as innumerable tribes and nations, comparatively settled, and for the most part independent one of another; but still falling, in virtue of their language and location, into a few great groups, each of which may be considered as the expansion of a single subdivision or clan of the parent stock. In the west and the British Isles were located the Kelts; in the south, the Greek and Latin peoples; in the east and north-east, the Lithuanians and the Slavs; and in the middle and north, the formidable Teutonic or German tribes, with whom we are here more particularly concerned. All of these had long forgotten their common origin and their primitive home; and some (*e. g.*, the Teutons themselves<sup>1</sup>) had even come to be regarded as indigenous to the districts in which they were then settled. In the time of Tacitus (whose “Germania” is by far the most valuable of classical contributions to our knowledge of Teutonic antiquity<sup>2</sup>) we find that, within boundaries roughly marked by the Rhine, the Vistula, the North Sea, and the upper Danube, there dwelt towards fifty distinct and mostly independent Teutonic tribes,—men

<sup>1</sup> On account of the limited application, in English, of the words “German” and “Germans,” I shall generally use “Teutonic” and “Teutons” when speaking of this group of tribes (including the Scandinavians) collectively. The Latin plural *Teutones* is an extended or “weak” form of a simpler but non-extant noun *teutā*, a classical equivalent of the Gothic *þiudō*, “folk, people,” and of the base of the German adj. *Deut-sch*, and our *Dut-ch*.

<sup>2</sup> To the reader of German may be recommended the excellent school and college edition by Prof. H. Schweizer-Sidler (Halle, 3rd ed., 1879).

of huge limb, fierce warriors, prolific, aggressive, a terror to their neighbours, and destined to change the whole political aspect of Europe,—a destiny postponed chiefly by their relentless wars among themselves.

2. In the north-east corner of this Teutonic area, on the lower Vistula and along the adjacent Baltic shore, dwelt the Goths<sup>1</sup>. According to a tradition preserved by Jordanes<sup>2</sup>, the original home of this renowned tribe was in Scandinavia; whence they are said to have crossed over to the mainland in "three ships." This tradition appears at first sight to be supported by various other circumstances that connect the Goths of the continent with that peninsula. Thus, three different tribes of Goths are mentioned by Jordanes (cap. iii.) in his list of Scandinavian tribes. Again, in a Baltic island, and in the southern district of Sweden, the name of Gothland survives to this day. Further, among the words borrowed from the Scandinavian Teutons in very ancient times by the Finns and Lapps (collected by Dr. W. Thomsen<sup>3</sup>) are not only many that exhibit marked Gothic features, but some also that are even of a more antique cast than the corresponding words in Ulfilas. And once more, the older Scandinavian dialects show so many points of affinity with the Gothic as to make it clear that they were mainly if not wholly derived from a dialect which was also the parent form of the latter. Now it is true that in very early times there were Gothic tribes in Scandinavia; and it has been supposed by some<sup>4</sup> that they entered the peninsula from north-west Russia and made their way southwards,—a view which is hardly consistent with the subsequent locations of the Teutons and the Finns respectively. But more recently,

<sup>1</sup> The proper base of their name is *Guta-*, nom. sing. *Guts*, plur. *Gutos*. They called themselves, as a people, the *Gut-thiuda* or "*Gut-folk*." There was also probably an extended or "weak" form *Gutan-* or *Gotan-*, whence the "*Guttones*" and "*Gotones*" of the classical writers. Our own forefathers called the Goths of the Continent *Gotan*. *Goten* and *Gotische* are the terms now employed by German philologists; but I confess myself not to have the courage to substitute either "*Gots*" or "*Guts*" for our time-honoured "*Goths*."

<sup>2</sup> "De Getarum sive Gothorum Origine," etc., *init.*, written probably about A.D. 550. There are accessible editions by Closs (Stuttgart, 1866) and by A. Holder (Freiburg, 1881); but the long-expected recension by Mommsen has now appeared.

<sup>3</sup> In his work (in Danish) on the Influence of the Teutonic languages on those of the Finns and Lapps. There is a German translation by Sievers (Halle, 1870).

<sup>4</sup> *E. g.*, by Steinthal, "*Kleinere Schriften*," I. 285; but see also Max Müller, *Lectures*, I. 218.

chiefly through the investigations of Bugge, Wimmer, and others, into the relative age and the lines of diffusion of the runic inscriptions, it has been concluded, reversely, that the tribes in question crossed over from the mainland to the southern parts of the peninsula, and spread abroad, not only therein, but also westward into Denmark. On this view the continental Goths simply remained behind; and when, long afterwards, the migration of the others was forgotten, while intercourse between the two divisions was re-established across the inland sea, the tradition above cited would grow up in the popular mind to explain at once the close relationship and the diverse location of the two<sup>5</sup>.

3. If a report transmitted to us by the elder Pliny<sup>1</sup> could be trusted, the earliest extant reference to the Goths would be due to Pytheas of Massilia (350 B.C.?), who is said to have assigned a tribe of *Gutones* to the shores of "an estuary" about "6000 stadia from the Ocean" (say 700 English miles from the Atlantic?). This report, however, is very doubtful<sup>2</sup>; and were it less so, it is still too vague to be of much value. The information given us by Tacitus (Germ. xliii), though slender, is trustworthy. He knows only the continental *Gotones*; who (he says), while preserving their liberty, lived under a stricter monarchy than the other German tribes. A century, more or less, after Tacitus's time, a great migration of these Goths must have taken place in a south-easterly direction; for about the year 240 Goths are found on the left bank of the lower Danube and eastward along the north shore of the Black Sea. From thence they incessantly harassed the outlying provinces of the Roman Empire, until Aurelian, notwithstanding his victory over them, wisely ceded to them the whole of Dacia proper. In these extended settlements the Goths towards the west gradually diverged from, and endeavoured to become independent of, those in the east; but the eastern Goths maintained their political ascendancy

<sup>5</sup> So Dr. J. H. Gallée, "*Gutiska*," I. 12 (Haarlem, 1880): "De geheele sage . . . is dus waarschijnlijk niets anders dan eene poging om deze Goten met de andere in verband te brengen."—As to the "three ships," compare the Ancient English tradition about Hengist and Horsa. The number "three" is thought to refer, in the one case, to the East Goths, West Goths, and Gepidæ; in the other, to Angles, Saxons, and Jutes.

<sup>1</sup> Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Müllenhoff, "*Deutsche Alterthumskunde*," I. (see especially pp. 367, 479, 481), rejects the statement; he thinks that Pliny (who quotes at second hand) may, owing to a defect in the MS. before him, have read *Gutones* for *Teutones*.



until the irruption of the Huns in 375. By these fierce hordes the East Goths were reduced to an ignominious subjection, which lasted till the death of Attila (452). The West Goths, panic-stricken, only escaped that indignity by crossing the Danube into Mœsia, under leave of Valens, then Emperor of the East; but very soon, enraged by the treachery and cruelty of his lieutenants, they became no less terrible to their new neighbours than the Huns had been to themselves. Their onslaughts at this time culminated in the battle of Adrianople (378), in which Valens was slain and his huge army annihilated. It was the West Goths who sacked Rome under Alaric (A.D. 410), and then founded kingdoms in Gaul and Spain that were afterwards overthrown, in the one case by the Franks (507), in the other by the Moors (711). The East Goths also subsequently crossed the Danube, settled for a time in Thrace, and then took and held possession of Italy under the great Theodoric (489-526). After his death the Gothic power in Italy rapidly declined; and it was finally extinguished by the victories of Narses in 552. From these dates we hear little of the Goths, except in Spain, where they became Romanized; and their language everywhere more or less rapidly died out. Gothic, however, (probably in a debased form,) was spoken as late as the ninth century at Tomi (now *Kustendje*) on the Black-Sea coast. Still more recently we catch passing glimpses of the obscure tribe of Crim-Goths (the ancient *Tetrawite*), who were descended, it is believed, from a section of the East Goths that settled along the S.E. coast of the Crimea probably before the year 300. These are mentioned by more than one traveller of the later middle ages; but the fullest notice of them is by the Flemish traveller A. G. von Busbeck; who, when at Constantinople in 1562, met two Ambassadors of theirs, and took down some scores of their words and a fragment of verse<sup>3</sup>. Unfortunately, since that time, all traces of them and their language have been lost<sup>4</sup>.

4. It is to Ulfilas (*i. e.*, Wulfila = Wölfel) that we are mainly indebted for what remains to us of the Gothic language.

<sup>3</sup> See Massmann in Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, I., and his *Introd. to Ulfilas*. Förstemann, "*Geschichte des Deutschen Sprachstammes*," II. 159-170, treats minutely of the verbal remains; but there are among them many debased forms that defy satisfactory restoration. [See now also Kremer in *PBB*. VIII. 445+.]

<sup>4</sup> Ihre, in the *Proœmium* (p. 6) to his "*Glossarium Suio-Gothicum*" (Upsala, 1769) speaks of Gothic as still current in the Crimea; but he cites no later authority than von Busbeck.

This remarkable man was born about the year 311. His ancestors, perhaps his grand-parents, were natives of Cappadocia who had been carried off as captives (long before his birth) by the Goths, during an irruption made by this people into the northern parts of Asia Minor. Nevertheless, he himself uniformly appears before us as a thoroughly patriotic Goth. He must also have been a person of some consideration; for, at or about the age of twenty, he was sent to Constantinople either with an embassy or as a hostage; and there he spent some ten years of his early manhood. He may previously have acquired some familiarity with provincial Greek and Latin, and with the elements of the Christian religion. But at Constantinople he became proficient both in the cultivated Greek and Latin of the time, and also in the theology of the then popular Arian school. Finally, he entered the Church; became successively "lector," priest, and (at the early age of 30) bishop; and at once began to labour with apostolic zeal among his own people, who were then still in Dacia, and still heathens. When persecution arose, he led a multitude of converts across the Danube (in 348), and procured for them, from the Emperor Constantius, settlements in Mœsia; where, principally, he preached and laboured till his death (on a visit to Constantinople) in 381. He is said to have been a prolific writer, not only in Gothic, but also in Greek and in Latin. Above all, he conceived and executed the bold project of translating the Scriptures into the Gothic tongue, for the use of his infant churches. Of this translation considerable fragments, but nearly all from the New Testament, have been discovered in modern times; and scanty as they unfortunately are, they nevertheless enable us to reconstruct, in all its essential features, the Grammar of the language as written by him; so that it becomes possible to assign to the Gothic its place both in the general Indo-European system of languages, and also, more especially, in the Teutonic division of that system<sup>1</sup>.

##### 5. So much with regard to ethnic and historic considera-

<sup>1</sup> The dialect employed by Ulfilas was that of the East Goths, which was probably the court or classical dialect (so to say) of a whole group of closely-related tribes (See § 6(2) below), all of whom would thus be able to read and enjoy his translation.—His life has been investigated by Prof. Waitz and Dr. Bessell. A good sketch of him will be found in Max Müller's Lectures, I. 207–215, or in a lively article in No. 300 of the Edinburgh Review (Oct. 1877), afterwards acknowledged by the learned author of "Italy and her Invaders" (T. Hodgson, Esq., B.A.).—The obscure history of the West Goths previously to A.D. 375 is investigated by Dahn, "Die Könige der Germanen," II. 51–98, and V. *init.*

tions. We have now to recall to mind that the relationship of the I-E. peoples was suggested mainly (§ 1 *init.*) by the unmistakable relationship subsisting between the I-E. languages. These exhibit, firstly, an extensive common Vocabulary, either derived from an identical stock of "roots" of a special type by regular sound-changes, or constructed therefrom by the same or similar methods of word-building; and, secondly, (what is even more important,) systems of Inflection and Syntax based on one original plan. Under these general features are comprised innumerable details, by a comparison of which, as they appear in the separate languages, scholars have been able to reconstruct approximately the Vocabulary, the Inflections, and, to some extent, the Syntax, of the primitive language itself, within which the separate descendent languages once existed as dialects. From special characteristics common over the European and over the Asiatic area, respectively, in conjunction with the geographical distribution of the people, is deduced the bifurcation of the "primitive speech" (in German, the *Ursprache*) into (let us say) two "sub-primitives,"—the Asiatic and the European. Within these, again, the phonetic and other differences between the leading dialects must be conceived to have so increased and multiplied with the increase and outspread of each main division of the people as to have rendered intercourse between the various divisions difficult and, at last, even impossible; and this circumstance probably played a leading part in determining the successive ethnic separations. Of the principal languages that hence resulted, there appeared in Asia the Sanskrit (Skt.) or oldest Hindoo, and the Zend (Zd., often called Old Bactrian);—and, in Europe, the Greek, Italic (chiefly represented by the Latin), Teutonic, Keltic, and Lithu-Slavonic (or Letto-Slavic) languages<sup>1</sup>. Not that these were all: there must have been many other intermediate or outlying languages<sup>2</sup>, of which the greater number have disappeared. Nor, in speaking of Sanskrit, Greek, and the rest, as "languages" do we mean that each of them was a perfectly homogeneous and rigidly uniform mode of speech. On the contrary, each of them, even while still a dialect of the *Ursprache*, must have had its own internal variations, which, as it grew into an independent language, themselves grew into more strongly-marked

<sup>1</sup> The order in which these are here mentioned corresponds to the chronological order in which their oldest written remains have been preserved.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Prof. Hübschmann on the Armenian, in KZ. XXIII.; and Dr. W. Tomaschek on the Yidghâh (or Mungî) dialect of the Hindoo Khoosh, in BB. VII. 195-210.

dialects thereof, and, under favourable conditions, also matured, in turn, into independent languages,—a process which may be indefinitely repeated. As a matter of fact, no such rigidly uniform parent-language (or *Grundsprache*, to borrow another term from German scholars) is extant. In some instances, indeed, whole literatures in the diverse dialects that commonly pass under a single linguistic designation (no one of them being the parent of the others) have been preserved. This is the case with “Greek,” as we call it,—a term applied to anything written in any of the teeming dialects and subdialects of Greece with its islands and colonies. Of a single homogeneous Greek *Grundsprache* we know, historically, nothing at all; and anything approximating thereto could only have been found in that remotely præ-historic time when the Greeks themselves were a single and compact, and therefore a very small, tribe. Nevertheless, by comparing the different dialectic forms of the same word with one another and, if possible, with its forms in other I-E. languages, and allowing for the known action of sound-change, the philologist arrives at a common fundamental form or base (a *Grundform*) of that individual word from which these dialectic varieties, so far as he can judge, have radiated. Thus, a comparison of the Attic *ἑως*, “dawn,” the Ionic *ἦώς*, and the Æolic *αῦως*, *inter se*, and also with the Lat. *aurōr-a* (where the *r*’s = older *s*’s) and with the Skt. *ushās*, suggests, as the base of those Grk. varieties, the *grundform* \**av̄ōws*<sup>3</sup>, from a root *aus* (*us*), “burn, glow” (Lat. *ur-ere* for \**us-ere*). In a similar way the Vocabularies and the Inflexions assigned to the principal I-E. *Grundsprachen*, and ultimately to the *Ursprache* itself, have been, form by form, approximately restored<sup>4</sup>.

6. (1) As with the Greek, so with the Teutonic, which is also to be conceived of as, originally, a dialect of the *Ursprache* spoken by a single clan of the *Urvolk*. In Europe (probably) this primitive dialect grew into a virtually independent language, within which its own formerly slight internal variations grew, in turn, into more and more distinctly marked dialects. The ultimate separation of the Teutons from the cognate European tribes left full scope for the natural tendencies of their speech, and allowed the distinctive features of Teutonic Grammar to be finally and indelibly stamped thereupon; and

<sup>3</sup> Typical or non-extant forms, reconstructed as above, are generally marked with an asterisk.

<sup>4</sup> Systematically for the Vocabulary, and on a large scale, in Fick’s *Wörterbuch*.

however numerous the subsequent divisions of the people, and however widely they have been scattered, they have taken with them everywhere, and have largely preserved to this day, the linguistic characteristics settled at that remote epoch. Between that epoch and the time of Tacitus many centuries must have elapsed; for wide as were their territories in his day, these had already proved too narrow. Migrating on a large scale, many of them had been annihilated by Marius two hundred years before; and, again, some fifty years after Marius, the pressure of the Germani upon the Galli had only been checked by the military genius of Julius Caesar.

(2) Preceding, accompanying, and following such expansion and tribal multiplication there must have been a corresponding multiplication of dialects. But just as the numerous old Greek dialects of which we know anything are ranged under a very few general heads according to their affinities, so those multitudinous old Teutonic dialects fell mainly into four great groups. There was one group in the N.E. of the continental area, which may be called the "Gothonic," and which comprised the Gothic of the East and of the West Goths and the closely-related dialects of the Gepidæ, the Vandals, the Burgundi, the Heruli, and other less-known tribes. Another group, very nearly akin to the preceding, may conveniently be made of the dialects of Scandinavia. In the N. and N.W. of central Europe was a group which may be called the Saxon, or Low German (L.G.) proper, comprising the numerous Saxon, Anglian, and Friesic dialects and subdialects. And to the south of these extended a fourth group of dialects which, as being used by inland tribes, are described as High German (H.G.). These four groups are severally represented by written remains of one or more of the leading dialects: the Gothonic group by the Gothic (Go.) of Ulfilas; the Scandinavian chiefly by the Old Norse (O.N.) or Icelandic: of the Old H.G. several varieties are extant; and of the remaining group three important dialectic centres are represented,—the Ancient English, or Anglo-Saxon (A-S.),—the Old Saxon (O.S.), or Saxon of the Continent,—and the Old Friesic (O.Fri.). Most of these remains, however, compared with Vedic Sanskrit, may almost be called modern. The Gothic Scriptures themselves date only from A.D. 350 at the earliest. A-S. literature begins from some two or three centuries later. The O.H.G. remains go back to the eighth century. O.S. is represented chiefly by the *Heliand* of the ninth century. The O.N. literature began to be written down towards the end of the eleventh century, although

the language employed is perhaps that of a somewhat earlier time. And a little later still, we come upon the O.Fri.

(3) By a comparison of the word-forms of one old dialect with the corresponding forms of another, and also with those of the younger Teutonic dialects on the one hand and of the old I.-E. languages on the other, the *Grundformen* or word-bases of an ideal Teut. *Grundsprache* may be abundantly reconstructed. And the same comparison will also be found to throw light upon the earlier dialectic condition of the (probably) undispersed Teutons themselves: for it establishes so many points of relationship between the Gothonic and the oldest Scandinavian dialects, on the one side, and between the remaining Teutonic dialects on the other, as to suggest that the common Teutonic language settled, in the first instance, into two main dialects, which may be described as East Teutonic and West Teutonic<sup>1</sup>, within which the later separate dialects or clusters of dialects originally existed as sub-dialects.

(4) Of the Gothonic cluster of the E. Teut. the Gothic of Ulphilas is, as we have said, the sole surviving representative, save a number of scattered words<sup>2</sup>. In virtue of its comparative antiquity it stands towards the other old Teut. dialects pretty much as Skt. stands towards Grk. and Latin,—*i. e.*, as an elder sister. Of those others, indeed, there is none that is not, in various points (often very important ones), more archaic than the Gothic, so that they cannot have been derived therefrom; but, taken all round, the Gothic has diverged less than any of them from the general condition of language that prevailed among the oldest Teutons; and hence it approaches more nearly than any of them (at the stages at which we first know them) to the condition of the *Ursprache* itself,—more nearly, indeed, in some respects, than even the Greek or Latin.

(5) We have now seen that the distribution of languages and dialects generally corresponds with the distribution of nations and tribes. Hence geographical descriptions are often employed to indicate linguistic relationships. Gothic, accordingly, may be described as the southern or conti-

<sup>1</sup> For a summary of the evidence on this subject see the Inaugural Dissertation of Dr. H. Zimmer ("Ostgermanisch und Westgermanisch," Berlin, 1876), afterwards inserted in Haupt's ZS. XIX.; or, as to the E. Teut., Dr. Gallée's "Gutiska," I. (Inleiding); also some valuable remarks by Braune in PBB. IX. 547-8.

<sup>2</sup> Carefully collected by Förstemann, Gesch. II., and Kremer, in PBB. VIII. 445-460.

mental branch of the "East Teutonic"; and the Teutonic, as a whole, is mostly coupled with the Letto-Slavic to form a northern division of the European "sub-primitive" (the Teutons and Letto-Slavs having probably held loosely together after the other Europeans—the later Greeks, Italians, Kelts—had moved off, together or separately, to the southward and westward). It only remains here to add that, in view of certain phonetic characteristics (§ 31(9) below), the H.G. is often treated as a dialect apart; and the other dialects, including the Gothic, are described as L.G. in a wider sense; in which sense, indeed, these initials will mostly be employed in this book.

## PART I.

THE GOTHIC ALPHABET: TRANSLITERATION; PRONUNCIATION<sup>1</sup>.

7. (1) By most of the early writers who mention him Ulphilas is spoken of as the inventor of the Gothic Alphabet. In point of fact, however, the Goths, like some related northern tribes, had previously possessed an Alphabet of Runes<sup>2</sup>. These runes were at first (and perhaps to a late date) popularly regarded among the Teutons as magical symbols and employed in divination and sorcery<sup>3</sup>. Their literary use was confined within narrow limits,—to inscriptions on ornaments, swords, and monumental stones; at least, no extended compositions of the old heathen ages have been preserved in these characters. The known runic alphabets, although they differed considerably at different times and in different places, yet all comprised a certain common stock of letters of the same, or nearly the same, shape, known by the same, or nearly the same, names, and arranged in the same, or nearly the same, sequence; from which facts it is deducible that they must all have descended from one common parent alphabet of still greater antiquity.

(2) The evidence for the existence of a runic alphabet among the Goths is derived, in part, from the forms of a number of the Ulfilic characters, and, in part, from a curious manuscript, still preserved at Vienna, containing transcripts of the Ulfilic alphabet accompanied by a series of names evidently meant for the runic names of the letters. These transcripts were made by some ninth-century scribe upon a leaf attached to a MS. of our own countryman Alcuin's treatise *De Orthographia*; and the way in which the names

<sup>1</sup> In this Part some elementary matters that properly fall under Part II. are forestalled, in order that the student fresh to the subject may, on the first reading, pass lightly over Part II., and, indeed, if he so prefer, over Chapters (I.) and (II.) of Part III.

<sup>2</sup> "Rune" is the Gothic, O.H.G., and O.S. *rûna* (f.), A-S. *rûn*, "a mystery, a secret": the A-S. for "runes" is *rûn-stafas*, "rune-letters"; the O.N. is simply *rûnar* or *rûnir*.

<sup>3</sup> See Tacitus, *Germania* x.



are attached to the characters seems to show that Ulfilas's letters, whatever his intention may have been, were still, in and after his time, popularly called by the same names as the runes which they superseded or resembled. Most of these names, as they appear in the MS., are very corrupt; and it was one of the principal achievements of the earlier runic scholars<sup>4</sup> to restore nearly all of them to correct Gothic forms generally answering to the names of the corresponding runic characters in the Scandinavian and A-S. alphabets.

(3) As the result of such restoration, the older Gothic alphabet of runic letters, with their names, may be considered to have stood pretty nearly as follows<sup>5</sup> :—

Symbol.	Name <sup>6</sup> .	Meaning of Name.	Value of Symbol.
𐌱 . . . . .	faíhu <sup>7</sup> . . . . .	cattle	f.
𐌺 . . . . .	*urus . . . . .	wild ox	u (in bull).
𐌿 (𐌿?) . . . .	{ thiuth (or thaúrnus?) }	good, <i>subst.</i> (or thorn?) }	th (in think).
𐌻 . . . . .	ans . . . . .	beam (of wood)	āh.
𐌾 . . . . .	*raida . . . . .	cart	r.
𐌿 . . . . .	[*kaunzma?] ..	{ pine-wood? touch-wood? }	k.
𐌿, x . . . . .	giba . . . . .	gift	g (hard).
𐌿 . . . . .	{ winya (or winno?) }	pasture (or feeling?) }	w (Engl.).
𐌿 . . . . .	*hagls . . . . .	hail	h.

<sup>4</sup> Especially W. Grimm, "Zur Literatur der Runen," just reprinted in vol. III. of his "Kleinere Schriften"; Kirchoff, "Das Gothische Runen-alphabet"; and Zacher, "Das Gothische Alphabet Vulfilas." In W. G.'s treatise there are some excellent facsimiles.

<sup>5</sup> The sequence of the letters is here adjusted to that in the better-known runic alphabets: these, after their first six letters, are commonly called *futhorks*,—just as we talk of the *alpha-bet*, or the *A, B, C*: an older combination (as in the alphabet above) gives *futhark*,—the *o* in the Scandinavian and A-S. alphabets being due to a phonetic variation of the name *ans*.

<sup>6</sup> The names marked with an asterisk, although their form is probably correct, are not extant in the Gothic remains; those in square brackets are still more or less doubtful.

<sup>7</sup> For the meaning of the accent in *aí*, see § 10 (2) below.

Symbol.	Name.	Meaning of Name.	Value of Symbol.
✚ . . . . .	nauths . . . . .	need	<i>n.</i>
l . . . . .	*eis (=îs) ..	ice	Ital. <i>î</i> = <i>ēē</i> in <i>meed</i> .
4 . . . . .	jêr . . . . .	year	{ <i>y</i> in <i>year</i> , or Germ. <i>j</i> in <i>jahr</i> .
1 . . . . .	[*iuja (ius?)]	yew-tree?	<i>iu</i> = <i>u</i> in <i>pure</i> .
ß, k . . . . .	[*paírthr?] ..	?	<i>p.</i>
u, s . . . . .	sauil . . . . .	sun	<i>s.</i>
↑ . . . . .	*Tius . . . . .	{ Jove (or hea- ven?) }	<i>t.</i>
ß . . . . .	*baírka . . . . .	birch-tree	<i>b.</i>
M . . . . .	aíhws . . . . .	horse	<i>e</i> in <i>met</i> .
⌘ . . . . .	manna . . . . .	man	<i>m.</i>
l . . . . .	*lagus . . . . .	lake	<i>l.</i>
≈, X . . . . .	*Ingws . . . . .	{ (name of a hero) }	<i>ng.</i>
⌘ . . . . .	dags . . . . .	day	<i>d.</i>
⌘ . . . . .	*ôthal . . . . .	{ heir-loom or inheritance }	<i>o</i> in <i>no</i> .
4? . . . . .	*quaírthr? ..	bait, lure	<i>qu.</i>
⊙? . . . . .	{ *hwaír (or hwilhs?) }	{ cauldron (or wheel?) }	<i>hw</i> (= Engl. <i>wh</i> ).

8. (1) The Alphabet of Ulfilas shows various points of agreement with the runic on the one side, and the Greek (and, to a less extent, the Latin) on the other. The prevalent opinion is that he took the Greek alphabet as his basis, and made good its defects, as an exponent of Gothic sounds, out of the runic and the Latin. But so far as the *forms* of his characters are concerned, it might be at least equally well maintained that he took the runic alphabet as his basis, and modified it upon the pattern of the Greek and Latin. In the use of his letters as numerals, however, he certainly imitated the Greek; and their successive values in the numerical series show that their alphabetic sequence also was adjusted

as nearly as possible to that of the Greek letters. Two of his characters ( $\Psi=90$  and  $\Uparrow=900$ ) are used only as unnumerals, agreeing in value with the Grk. *koppa* and *sampi*, of which indeed they are supposed by some to be modifications (but see below). Including these, the Ulfic Alphabet runs as in the following list, where the phonetic powers of the letters are expressed by the initials of the restored (runic) names attached thereto:—

Letters.	Names.	Numerical value <sup>1</sup> .	Letters.	Names.	Numerical value.
<b>ᐱ</b>	.. <i>ans</i> .....	1	<b>ᑭ</b>	.... <i>jër (yër)</i> ....	60
<b>ᑭ</b>	.... <i>baírka</i> <sup>2</sup> .....	2	<b>ᑎ</b>	.. <i>urus</i> .....	70
<b>ᑭ</b>	.. <i>giba</i> .....	3	<b>ᑎ</b>	.. <i>paíthr</i> ....	80
<b>ᑭ</b>	.... <i>ḁags</i> .....	4	<b>[ᑭ]</b>	.. ....	90]
<b>ᑭ</b>	.. <i>aíhws</i> .....	5	<b>ᑭ</b>	.. <i>raida</i> <sup>3</sup> .....	100
<b>ᑭ</b>	.... <i>quáíthr</i> ....	6	<b>S</b>	.... <i>sauil</i> .....	200
<b>ᑭ</b>	.. [ <i>ezec</i> ?] .....	7	<b>ᑭ</b>	.. <i>tius</i> .....	300
<b>h</b>	.... <i>hagls</i> .....	8	<b>ᑭ</b>	.. <i>winya</i> .....	400
<b>ᑭ</b>	.... <i>thiuth</i> .....	9	<b>ᑭ</b>	.. <i>faíhu</i> .....	500
<b>ᑭ</b> <sup>3</sup>	.. <i>eis</i> (i. e., <i>ís</i> , <i>ees</i> )	10	<b>X</b>	.. ( <i>Ingws</i> ?) ....	600
<b>K</b>	.... [ <i>kaunzma</i> ?] ..	20	<b>ᑭ</b>	.... <i>hwaír</i> .....	700
<b>ᑭ</b>	.. <i>lagus</i> .....	30	<b>ᑭ</b>	.. <i>óthal</i> .....	800
<b>M</b>	.. <i>manna</i> .....	40	<b>[ᑭ]</b>	.. ....	900]
<b>N</b>	... <i>nauths</i> .....	50			

<sup>1</sup> When the letters are used as numbers they are distinguished either by a point before *and* after them, or by a stroke above; thus: '**K**' or **K**=Grk.  $\kappa'$ =20, &c.; sometimes indeed by both.

<sup>2</sup> For the value of *ai* see § 10 (2).

<sup>3</sup> In the MSS. '**I**' is thus printed not only when it is a numeral (See note <sup>1</sup>), but also when it begins a word and when it follows another vowel without coalescing with it into a diphthong.

(2) As to form and probable origin, it would seem that, of the foregoing letters, *urus* and *faíhu* are runes <sup>4</sup>;—*thiuth*, *jér* (*yér*), *raida*, and *winya*, are runes with the upper ring opened;—*ans* and *hwaír* probably runic;—*baírka*, *eis*, *óthal*, and perhaps *quáirthr*, common to runic and Greek;—*ezec* (?), *kaunzma* (?), *lagus*, *manna*, and *Tius*, also common, but assimilated to Greek forms;—*giba*, *aihwis*, *paírthr*, and *nauths*, are Greek;—while *dags*, *hagls*, and *sauil* are apparently adjusted to Latin cursive script. As to *Ingws* (?), which is now really the Greek  $\chi$ , it can hardly be called a member of this alphabet; as it is only used in *Xristus*= $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}s$ , and a few other words adopted bodily from the Greek: usually, *k* appears for  $\chi$  (*Zakarias*, *Akaija*, &c.), and probably gives the Gothic pronunciation thereof. The remarkable thing (See note <sup>5</sup> below) is that **X** appears with the very inappropriate name of the old *Ing*-runes (one of which it resembled in form); whereas for the gutturo-nasal *-ing* Ulfilas no longer employed a special symbol, but represented it, as did the Greeks, by  $\Gamma$  before  $\mathbf{K}$  or before another  $\Gamma$ .

(3) To explain some of Ulfilas's changes it may be remarked that a simplification of the runes *dags* and *manna* (for Ulf. abolished crossed right-lines) would make them both identical in shape with the *aihwis*- or  $\ddot{e}$ -rune, and all three like the Grk. and Lat.  $\mathbf{M}$ : the value of *manna* alone was therefore given to the symbol  $\mathbf{M}$ , and  $\mathbf{\Delta}$  and  $\epsilon$  were adopted for *dags* and *aihwis*.—The diphthong *iu* being expressible by its two vowels, the *iuja*-rune was set free; it was then adjusted to the shape and value of the Grk. or Lat.  $\mathbf{Z}$ , and a new name was (apparently) given to it <sup>5</sup>.—The *thiuth* ( $\psi$ )

<sup>4</sup> The reader is requested to compare the two alphabets.

<sup>5</sup> This name, in the Viennese MS., *ezec*, clearly refuses to be connected with *iuja* or *ius*. W. Grimm's explanation of it as a distortion of *zeta* seems to me very probable. It is almost certain that the writer of the Viennese MS. drew his materials immediately from an A-S. source, and the A-S.  $c$  and  $\tau$  (=  $\tau$ ) were frequently mistaken for each other. This writer actually himself put *c* for *t* in the name of the *n*-rune as he gives it (*noicz*); and the transcribers (from A-S. originals) of the pseudo-alphabets known as the "Marcomannic" or H.G. runes also put both *c* for *t* and *t* for *c*, in some of the names. Reading therefore *ezet* for *ezec*, we may perhaps conjecture that Ulfilas attempted to introduce a new series of names for his letters,—or at any rate for the new or remodeled ones. It is difficult to believe, *e.g.*, that Ulfilas could have intended  $\chi$ ,  $\ddot{e}$ , and  $\epsilon$  to be called *ingws*, *eis*, and *aihwis*; the phonetic powers of which (*viz.* *ing*,  $\ddot{e}$ =Engl. *ee*, and  $\epsilon$ ) he represented, in writing, in a totally different way (*i.e.*, by *g* before another guttural, by *ei*, and by *ai*). It seems to me more likely that these names were some that, in spite of his influence, maintained their hold on the people, and were transferred from the older letters to the newer ones that merely took their forms or their places, but not their powers.

of Ulf. differs somewhat in form from the known *thorn*-rune (þ) of other Teutonic alphabets; but it can hardly be either the Greek ψ or φ, as some have supposed; at any rate, in the case of all other directly borrowed Greek consonants Ulfilas has carefully preserved their native phonetic values. Now ψ by closure of the ring leads to ϕ (or ϕ); and ϕ actually occurs for ψ in the Viennese codex (fol. 19). If then we consider some of the older forms of Greek *theta* (⊕, ⊗) by which their Phœnician prototype is reproduced, it may not appear improbable that, just as the later Greeks adopted one of the crossed lines of the original and shortened it (Θ), so the Teutons may have adopted the other and lengthened it (ϕ); and this ϕ may easily have been the parent of the simpler þ, and, through this, of the later ð.—The *giba*-runes were replaced by the Greek *gamma* (Γ).—The *baírka*- and *paírtha*-runes were identical; and for the latter the Greek *pi* (Π) was substituted.—*Winya*, besides its value of *w*, appears for *T* in borrowed Greek words.—↑ is, in form, the old and general *t*-rune.—And, lastly, ʒ, instead of being a variety of the Old Greek *koppa*, may really be the old *qu*-rune, of which the Ulfilic *u* is a slight modification<sup>6</sup>.

9. The Sounds of the Gothic language have been pretty accurately determined, or are at least known to lie within certain narrow phonetic limits (See next section). Hence it becomes possible, as it is highly convenient, to employ our ordinary Roman letters in substitution for the Ulfilic symbols. As to the greater part of the alphabet—*a, b, g, d, e* (= *ē*), *z, h, i, k, l, m, n, u, p, r, s, t, f, o* (= *ō*)—there is a general agreement of usage among Gothic scholars. As to the remainder some diversity of transliteration prevails; and this is due, in two or three instances, to a slight difference of opinion with respect to the sound to be represented. Thus, while Ulfilas gives the labio-guttural combination (*gw*) by means of two letters, he uses the simple symbols *u* and *o* for the parallel combinations *kw* (= *qu*) and *hw* (= our *wh*). It may have been, therefore, that he conceived of the sounds themselves as simple ones; and, on this view, most German editors substitute *q* for the one, and some of the earlier editors *w* for the other. It is, however, at least equally

<sup>6</sup> In the Viennese MS. a symbol ʒ occurs once in place of *d* and once alongside of *d*. W. Grimm suggests that it may have been used [in later or post-Ulfilic Gothic?] to represent the soft spirant ð (*dh*, = our *th* in *thou, thee*, &c.). If this was so, the symbol could hardly have been related to *koppa* at all; it may have been one half of Ulfilas's ψ, the later *thorn* (þ) being the other.

likely that for *kw* and *hw* he merely retained the old runes as a matter of convenience, and that the three sounds should be harmoniously rendered by *kw*, *hw*, *gw*. The latter two will be used in this book; and for the first, to suit the English eye, the equivalent cluster *qu* will be substituted.—*w* having been taken by the older editors to represent *hwaîr*, they adopted *v* for *winya*; and this *v* is still almost universally employed by German scholars<sup>1</sup>; but in this book *w* will be uniformly used.—For *thiuth* sometimes *th*, but far more frequently þ (the A-S. *thorn*) is employed: the latter will here also be adopted.—Ulfilas, as before said, following the Greeks, used Γ before Γ or K (and sometimes ΓΓ before K) to represent the gutturo-nasal<sup>2</sup>: this usage (with substitution of *g* for Γ) is imitated by continental editors (*aggilus*, *drigkan*, &c.); but on this point, again, this book will follow English usage and employ *n* (*angilus*, *drinkan*, &c.): we shall thus be free to use *gg* in the cluster *ggw* (where the first *g* is *not* a nasal) found in a small group of words collected in § 29 (1, viii) below.—**G** is of course represented in German texts by *j* (=our *y* in *year*, &c.): with much hesitation and reluctance I also adopt *j*; for in the chaotic jumble of letters that makes up a great part of English spelling, *y* (though comparatively well treated) has three distinct values, of which only one is required in Gothic; so that, by its use, the learner could hardly fail to be misled in the pronunciation of many words (*e.g.*, *bokarye*, *meryand*, and the like). The use of *j* will compel him to notice that *-je*, *-jand*, &c., are distinct syllables; and *y* will thus remain open for convenient employment in certain borrowed words in which Ulfilas appears to have retained its prototype *upsilon*.

10. (1) The following conspectus of the alphabet to be used in this book gives the letters in the Ulfilic sequence, and, after each, a statement of its probable phonetic value<sup>1</sup>:—

A, a=short *ah*; *i.e.*, *ă* as in Germ. *Mann*, or in “back,” “Maggie,” &c., as pronounced in Lancashire. In a few

<sup>1</sup> Who also use it in the clusters *hw*, *gw*.

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes (in Luke) *n* is so used (*pank*, *bringip*, &c.); this is probably due to Italian influence: the *gg* before *k* may be due to the copyist.

<sup>1</sup> On this subject see the Treatises of Weingärtner and Dietrich on “Die Aussprache des Gotischen”; A. J. Ellis, in Part II. of his great work on Pronunciation; and, as to *b, d, g*, Paul, “Zur Lautverschiebung” in Vol. I. of Paul and Braune’s “Beiträge.” A good summary of older views is given by Rassmann in the “Allgem. Enkyk.” art. “Die Gothische Sprache.”

special instances *a* is long (= *áh*), like our *a* in “*father*” (See § 26 below): these will be marked (*á*) as they occur.

B, *b*, initial=*b* in “*burn*”; but between vowels and as a final after a vowel it was probably a bilabial *v* (*ḃ*); *e. g.*, *giban* = *giban*, nearly.

G, *g*, initial=our firm *g* in *go*; perhaps less firm, if not, in some cases, a spirant (= *h* nearly) between vowels.

D, *d*, initial=our firm *d* in *do*; probably less firm, *i. e.*, a soft spirant (say *ḏ*) between vowels, or as a final after a vowel.

E, *e*, is always long (*é*) and = *ai* or *ay* in “*bait*,” “*day*”; and like these, but probably more strongly, tinged with an *ī*-sound.

Qu, *qu*=*qu* in “*queen*,” “*require*.”

Z, *z*=*z* in “*prize*”: *z* is nearly always interior, rarely final, and never initial except in borrowed proper names.

H, *h*=*h* in “*hail*”; it is to be sounded as an interior and a final=faih, *jah*, &c.

þ, *þ*=our hard or surd *th* in “*think*,” “*wrath*,” “*method*.”

I, *i*=our short *i* in *it*. On the pattern of the Greek, *I* is also uniformly used as the initial of certain proper names, where we write *J*,—*Iésus*, *Iakōb*, &c.: in these cases it is to be sounded like our initial *y* (*Yakōb*, &c.).

K, *k*, as in English; but it is to be sounded before *n*, as in *kniu*, “*knee*.”

L, *l*; M, *m*; N, *n*: all sounded as in English: *n* will also be used here for the gutturo-nasal (= *ng*) before *g* and *k*.

J, *j*=*y* in *year* or *j* in *hallelujah*. (See also the letter *I*, above.)

U, *u*, mostly short, and = *u* in *full* or *ōō* in *foot*; but frequently also long (*ú*) like our *u* in *rude* or *ōō* in *food*; *ú* will be marked as it occurs.

P, *p*, as in English.

R, *r*=our *r* in *round*, &c., but probably with clearer trill, whether as initial, interior, or final.

S, *s*, always sharp or surd, as in our *sing*, *hiss*.

T, *t*, as in English.

W, *w*, nearly as in English; perhaps more distinctly spirant, especially within and at end of words. It is to be sounded in all positions (but see next entry, and the note).

[Y, y, is generally employed where Ulfilas borrows the vowel *upsilon* of the Grk.,—Ymainaiaus, *synagoge*, &c.: its value here was probably somewhat nearer to *i* than the French *u* or Germ. *ü* <sup>2</sup>.]

F, f, as in English.

[X, χ, Grk. *chi*, probably pronounced by the Goths as a simple *k*: see § 8 (2) above.]

Hw, hw, an aspirated *w* = our *wh* in *when*, &c., as it *should* be pronounced.

O, o, always long (i. e. *ô*) = our *ô* or *oa* in *nô*, *boat*, and like these, but probably more strongly, tinged with the *û*-(*ôô*-)sound.

(2) Besides the foregoing, which render the simple symbols of Ulfilas, several combinations of vowels—real or apparent diphthongs—play a large part in the Gothic sound-system, and require careful attention. These are: *ai*, *au*, *ei*, *iû*.

*Ai*, *ai*, is either long (say *ái*) or short (*ai*)<sup>3</sup>. Of these the long is much the more frequent. This is a true diphthong, and probably equal to the sum of its two constituents, ∴ = Germ. *ai* in *Reiſer*, or the Grk. *ai* as usually pronounced in England (i. e., a little broader than our pronoun *I*).—The short, *ai*, on the other hand, differed but little, if at all, in sound from the Grk. *ε* and Lat. *ě*: our nearest equivalent is the *ě* of *met*; thus, Go. *Baiaĩlzaĩbul* = Grk. *Βεελζεβούλ* = *Běēlzěbul*. A special function of *ái* is to represent a variation of *i* caused by a following *r* or *h*<sup>4</sup>; as *baíran*, i. e. *beran* for *bíran*, “to bear”; *aírpa*, i. e. *erpa* for *irpa*, “earth.”

*Au*, *au*, is also either long (*áu*) or short (*au*)<sup>3</sup>; and the long is the more frequent. This too is generally a true diphthong, and is then probably = Germ. *au* in *Hauiſ*, or our *ou*, *ow* in *house*, *now*.—The short *áu* differed but little, if at all, from

<sup>2</sup> In borrowed words involving the Greek diphthongs *av*, *ev*, it is uncertain whether Ulfilas intended us to read *upsilon* or *winja*; but as *upsilon* in such cases had then, it would seem, a semi-vowel and spirant character, differing perhaps but slightly from our *w*, this letter will accordingly, in such words, be used,—*Pawlus* = *Παῦλος*, *aiwangeljo* = *εὐαγγέλιον*, &c. (See A. J. Ellis, “The English, Dionysian, &c., Pronunciations of Greek.”)

<sup>3</sup> This mode of discrimination by accenting the predominant factor is Grimm's, and is applied to *au* also. In this book the shorts (*ai* and *au*) only will hereafter be marked.

<sup>4</sup> This phenomenon is called by German scholars *Brechung*; let us say “Refraction.”



the Grk. and Lat. *ō*. Our nearest equivalent is *ö* in *nöt* (which is really the short of *aw* in *awful*); thus, Go. *apaú-staúlus* = Grk. *ἀπόστολος*; *Paúntius* = *Pōntius*, &c. — *au* is also the *Brechung* (See note <sup>4</sup>) of *u* before *r* and *h*; as in *waúrd*, *i. e.* *wōrd* for *wurd*; *daúhtar*, *i. e.* *dōhtar* for *dohhtar*.

Ei, ei, is, phonetically, the long of *ī*, and is = the continental *ī*, or our *ee* in *feet*. In this combination Ulfilas is thought to have imitated the Greek *ει*, which in his time had that value<sup>5</sup>.

Iu, iu, is diphthongal and = the sum of its components; it is ∴ nearly = our *u* in pure (*i. e.* *pyoor*), with perhaps a little more of the initial *i*-sound.

(3) The Gothic Alphabet may now be summarily displayed thus:—

*Vowels*: *a*, *ā*; *ai* (= *ě*), *ē*; *i*, *ei* (= *ī*); *au* (= *ö*), *ō*; *u*, *ū*; (*y*, non-Gothic);

*Diphthongs*: *ai*; *au*; *iu*;

*Consonants*: *k*, *h*, *g*; *t*, *þ*, *d* (*ð*); *p*, *f*, *b* (*ḅ*); *r*, *l*; *m*, *n*; *w*, *j*; *s*, *z*.

A more minute inquiry into the history and relationships of these letters will follow in Part II.

11. As it is highly desirable to acquire at the outset a working system of pronunciation, a short continuous passage from Ulfilas (Mark iv. 1-9) is here given, with a parallel rendering into English sounds in accordance with the values assigned to the Gothic letters in § 10. The accented (*i. e.*, the acutely-accented) syllable of the Gothic word is indicated by italicizing the vowel in the corresponding syllable of its phonetic rendering<sup>1</sup>:—

Jah	aftra	Iēsus	dugann	laisjan	at	marein;
Yāh	āftrā	Yaysōos	dōogānn	lāis-yan	āt	mārcen;
jah	galēsun	sik	du	imma	manageins	filu,
yāh	gālaysoōn	sik	dōō	immā	mānāgeens	fīlōō,
swaswē	ina	galeiþandan	in	skip	gasitan	in marein;
swāsway	ina	galeethāndān	in	skip	gasītan	in māreen;
jah	alla	sō	managei	wīþra	marein	ana stapa
yāh	āllā	sō	mānāgee	wīthrā	māreen	ānā stāthā

<sup>5</sup> See A. J. Ellis, as last cited.

<sup>1</sup> For some remarks on accentuation, see § 85 below. The secondary accent cannot conveniently be indicated in the above passage.

was. Jah laisida ins in gajukôm manag, jah  
 wäs. Yäh lausiðä ins in gäyðokôm mänäg, yäh  
 quap im in laiseinai seinai: Hauseiþ! Sai, urrann  
 quäth im in lauseinai seenai: Howseeth! Sai, öörrän  
 sa saiaands du saian fraiwa seinamma. Jah warþ,  
 sä saiäands döo saian fraiwä seenamma. Yäh wärth,  
 miþ-panei saísô, sum rahtis gadraus faúr wig, jah  
 mīth-thanei sēsô, söom rēhtis gadrows för wig, yäh  
 quēmun fuglôs jah frētun þata. Anþarup-þan  
 quaymun fööglôs yäh fraytoön thätä. Anthäroöth-than  
 gadraus ana stainahamma, parei ni habaida airþa  
 gadrows änä stainahamma, thäre ni hābaiðä értha  
 managa; jah suns urrann, in pizei ni habaida  
 mänaga; yäh söons öörran, in thizee ni hābaiðä  
 diupaizôs airþôs: at sunnin þan urrinnandin  
 dyöopæizôs érthôs: ät söonnin than öörrinnandin  
 ufbrann, jah, untê ni habaida waurtins, gapaursnôða.  
 öofbrän, yäh, öontay ni hābaiðä wörtins, gathörsnôða.  
 Jah sum gadraus in þaurnuns; jah ufarstigun  
 Yäh söom gadrows in thörnoöns; yäh öofarstigöön  
 þai þaurnjus jah afhwapidédun þata, jah akran  
 thæi thörnyöös yäh afhwäpiðayðöön thätä, yäh äkrän  
 ni gaf. Jah sum gadraus in airþa göða, jah  
 ni gáf. Yäh söom gadrows in értha göða, yäh  
 gaf akran, urrinnandô jah wahsjandô, jah bar  
 gáf äkrän, öörrinnando yäh wähs-yändô, yäh bär  
 ain ·l· (=þrins tiguns), jah ain ·j· (=saíhs  
 ain [30] thrins-tigöons, yäh ain [60] sēhs-  
 tiguns), jah ain ·r· (=taíhun-taíhund).—Jah quap:  
 tigöons, yäh ain [100] tēhoön-tēhoönd.—Yäh quäth:  
 Saei habai ausôna hausjandôna gahausjai.  
 Sæce habai ousônä hows-yändônä gahowsyai

## PART II.

## PHONOLOGY.

12. "Phonology" is that division of Speech-craft which treats of the Articulate Sounds employed in speaking any given language or any group of related languages. When nothing more than a practical acquaintance with a single language is desired, it may generally be sufficient to determine, under this head, the number and nature of the sounds of that language, and their phonetic relationships to one another. But the philological student, who attacks a language not for itself alone, but also as contributory to the scientific study of language as distinct from languages, requires a good deal besides. His requirements, however, fall mainly under two heads,—Phonetics and History. By Phonetics is ultimately meant the physiology of the mode of formation of the given speech-sounds; while History not merely implies the tracing back (if possible) of the sounds to the oldest known form of the given language, but also involves a comparison of them with the corresponding sounds of related languages derived from the same parent stock. In the case of a living language—the English, say—the mode of formation of the sounds now employed may be determined with exactitude; and by means of the symbols preserved in a long series of written remains their phonetic values at different epochs during the last 1200 years or more may be fairly well ascertained. Not so with the Gothic. We have here before us only a transverse section, as it were, and a very incomplete one, of a dead language: of earlier and later stages of this language there are no remains worth speaking of. A history of Gothic sounds, as such, is consequently unattainable: it resolves itself, in fact, into a comparison of these sounds with those of cognate languages and dialects, and into an attempt, by this means, to establish the relationship of the Gothic phonetic system to that which has been approximately determined for the Teutonic or for the European *Grundsprache* or for the I-E. *Ursprache* itself. Even the phonetic value of many of the Ulfilic symbols can only be estimated by a similar

comparison, and especially by an examination of the extant transcriptions of Gothic words (chiefly proper names) into Greek and Latin and of Greek and Latin words into Gothic; and this requires that the values of the Grk. and Lat. symbols themselves should first be pretty accurately known. An adequate treatment of Gothic Phonology, as approached in this way, would require a considerable volume to itself. In the present work it will mostly be necessary to take for granted the results of previous investigations; but an attempt will still be made to sketch such an outline as will embrace all the facts and principles that are of general philological importance.

13. (1) The raw material (so to say) of audible speech is a stream, or rather a succession of short streams, of voice, produced by driving air from the lungs over the edges of two ligaments (the "vocal chords") which are situated in the throat, and which may be made to vibrate with various degrees of tension, at the will of the speaker. The mouth, its contents and boundaries, with the nasal channels as important appendages, form very effective machinery for the transformation of this raw material into expressive Speech-sounds. By means principally of the tongue, acting towards or upon the palate and teeth,—of the lips,—of the movable under-jaw,—and, to a less extent, of the muscles of the cheeks,—the voice-stream may be stopt, shunted, narrowed, and otherwise operated upon, in an indefinite number of ways.

(2) But, short of a complete stoppage, the passage of the voice must of course be more or less free. The first main division of speech-sounds, therefore, is into "open" and "close" or "closed." A completely open sound may be represented by our *ah* (= *a* in *father*); the other extreme—a close sound (sometimes called a "stop" or a "check")—by our *p* in *reap*, *pear*, *apple*. This particular stop is formed by a firm closure of the lips, the nasal passages being at the same time blocked. But "stops" may also be effected by the tongue, by pressure either against the teeth, or against any part of the palate, as far back as a complete line of contact can be formed. And all simple stops may be modified in formation by increasing or diminishing the tension of the muscles employed,—which of course modifies the degree of force with which the voice-stream is arrested.

(3) "Open" sounds are susceptible of numerous modifications; for the oral passage may be narrowed, not only at various regions (or even at two regions at once), but also by small gradations, until the narrowing approximates indefinitely near

to a complete contact; *i. e.*, open sounds may be made to differ as little as we please from "stops." And even when complete contact at any point is reached, it may be (as it were) eluded, or neutralized, by throwing open the nasal channels and otherwise. The actual or possible sounds thus produced or producible are so numerous as to necessitate a selection therefrom; for the classification of which a basis may be found in their acoustic quality. On this basis, open sounds may be: (i) Clear Voice; which, however, is not incompatible with considerable narrowing of the oral passage; as, *e. g.*, at the middle palate, in sounding  $\bar{i}$  (our *ee* in *see*), or at the lips, in sounding  $\bar{u}$  (our *oo* in *too*);—(ii) Voice deadened by Friction, owing to its being passed through a narrow chink, formed, however, by a relaxed muscular effort; *e. g.*, the sound of *z* in *size* or *v* in *give*;—(iii) Compressed Breath; *i. e.*, breath forced by considerable pectoral effort through a very narrow chink formed with correlative muscular tension, the voice, properly so called, being under these conditions suppressed; examples, the *s* (*ss*) in *sing*, *hiss*, or the *f* (*ff*) in *for*, *off*;—(iv) Elusions of a Stop; *e. g.*, (*a*) the nasal shunts, *m* (for which the lips are in the *b*-position), *n* (tongue in *d*-position), and *ng* in *sing*, *sang*, *song* (back of tongue in various *g*-positions); in all which, the voiced breath, menaced with a stop, escapes by the nasal channels; (*b*) the lingual *l* (tongue in *d*-position), the voice escaping by the sides of the tongue; (*c*) the trill *r*, the voice escaping over the vibrating tip of the tongue.

(4) The sounds falling under (i) are called Vowel-sounds; those under (ii), Voiced Spirants; those under (iii) Voiceless Spirants; and of those under (iv), *m*, *n*, *ng* are called Nasals, and *r*, *l*, Liquids; or, for certain purposes, the members of this group may conveniently be called Sonants. All these four groups of open sounds, and any others that may be producible, are sometimes described as "continuous" (being capable of prolongation, without alteration of quality: indeed, "lengthening" forms an important variation of the vowels and even of the sonants); while the stops are described as "momentary." But the terms "voiced" and "voiceless" cover different ground; for under the latter the compressed breaths of (iii) are colligated with intensive stops (such as *p*, *t*, &c.); while, reversely, under the former the relaxed stops (such as *b*, *d*, &c.) are colligated with the other groups of open sounds.

14. (1) Not less important, historically, than the sounds

themselves are the symbols that stand for them, and that make up the alphabet of each language. In a perfect alphabet every simple sound should have one and only one symbol, and each symbol should stand for one and only one sound; and such perfection is aimed at by the phonetist or the philologist in drawing up a scientific or a theoretical alphabet. Few popular alphabets now-a-days approximate very closely to perfection; but the alphabets of some ancient peoples, and among them that of Ulfilas, are much less imperfect.

(2) In a perfect alphabet it follows that the classification of the symbols exactly agrees with that of the sounds; and the terms used to describe the groups of sounds—"vowels," "spirants," "sonants" (= "liquids" + "nasals"), and "stops"—are often transferred (even in the case of very imperfect alphabets also) to the groups of symbols that represent them. The members of these groups, both of sounds and symbols, may be sorted into "labials," "dentals," and so on, according to the oral regions at which the sounds are produced; and the stops and spirants of each of these sub-groups may be sorted into "intensive" or "voiceless" and "relaxed" or "voiced." Ancient and useful equivalents for "stop," "voiceless stop," and "voiced stop," as applied to symbols are "mute," "tenuis," and "media."

(3) Another time-honoured division of letters is into "vowels" and "consonants,"—the latter (as is commonly explained) being incapable of complete utterance unless a vowel is conjoined with them. As applied to stops and voiceless spirants the term "consonant" may pass; but as to the voiced spirants and the sonants, we have seen, in § 13 (3), that these have a certain voice- or vowel-quality of their own, which, in actual speech, comes out in unaccented syllables. It is true we English conceal the fact by always combining with them, in writing, a proper vowel; as, *e. g.*, in *heathen*, *riddle*, *besom* (*was*=*wōz*), *of* (= *ōv*); but in current speech such unaccented vowels, if combined with sonants, are never sounded, and not always if combined with voiced spirants (*heathn*, *riddl*, *besm* (= *bīzm*), *w'z*, *'v*). In Gothic, as we shall see, such syllabic values of *m*, *n*, *r*, *l*, and *w* are not unfrequently written. In Skt. a similar value of *r* plays an important part. And it is pretty certain that in the *Ursprache* itself also the pronunciation of *m*, *n*, *r* (*l* was probably wanting) in unaccented syllables closely approximated to their purely sonant values<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> These values will here be rendered by *m*, *n*, *r*, (*l*).

(4) In accented syllables the vowels proper almost monopolize the voice-stream and become the centres of audibility (*olive, enemy, very, &c.*); so that the vocal quality of conjoined sonants and spirants becomes a secondary matter; and as, in continuous speech, the passage to and from these sounds, over the vowels, involves either an actual contact or a close approximation thereto, both sonants and spirants serve, like the pure stops, to begin and end successive articulations; that is to say, the functions, *e. g.*, of *l, m, n, &c.*, in *alimony, Lazarus*, are precisely the same as those of *p, k, t, &c.*, in *packet, decapitate*. When so used, therefore, they may rightly be classed with these as consonants; but it is of great importance that their other or quasi-vowel character should be distinctly recognized.

(5) The case of the palatal and bilabial voiced spirants, commonly called semivowels, viz., *j=y* (in *year*) and *w* (in *work*), is closely similar. As initials of syllables they have a consonantal value; but as they are formed by the same positions of the vocal organs as the palatal and labial vowels (*i, i̇, ü, u*), their syllabic values are generally given by these vowels. In some languages, indeed, *e. g.*, the Gothic itself, *i* and *j, u* and *w*, are, in the course of inflexion and derivation, continually interchanging; so that, in function, as *m : ñ*, or as *r : ʀ, &c.*, :: *j : i*, and *w : u*. But the syllabic use of *w* in Gothic (*waurstw* = "a work") implies a value differing from that of the full vowel *u*: it probably denoted, in such instances, a mere "rounded" or labialized breath or murmur like that with which we finish off "window," "barrow."

(6) Simple sounds may be *combined* into diphthongs, vowel or consonantal, by a rapidly successive pronunciation, or *modified* by a simultaneous arrangement of two simple positions of the vocal organs into one complex position. Thus, a back (or throat) vowel may combine with a forwarder one—say a palatal—giving a Diphthong proper (*e. g.*, *āh + i = ai*: See § 10), or any vowel may combine with a sonant (*al, ol, il, &c., an, en, &c.*); or a stop, intensive (voiceless) or relaxed (voiced), may combine (i) with a breath, giving an Aspirate (*p + h = ph* = Grk. *φ*; *b + h = bh* = Skt. *भ*); or (ii) with a voiceless or voiced spirant, giving what is sometimes called an "affricata" (*e. g.*, Germ. *pf* and *ʒ = ts*; Grk. *ζ = dz*; Engl. *ch = tsh, j = dzh*).—Of modifications, perhaps the most important is that of labialism, or "rounding," effected by projecting the lips and drawing the corners of

the mouth (and therefore, to a less extent, the cheeks) towards each other, while the hinder parts of the vocal machinery are arranged for the production of some simple vowel or consonant. Thus, *ū*, *û* (Engl. *oo*, *oo*) result, in formation, from strongly-rounded "high-back" vowel-positions, which, without the rounding, would nearly give *ä*, *ā* (*äh*, *āh*); and *qu* (as in *queen*) and *wh* (= *hw*, as in *when*) are rounded guttural stop and breath, to which, with *gw* (§ 10), has been given, of late, the name of "velars" (from the *velum palati*, against which they are formed), and which, without the rounding, would be the clear gutturals *k*, *g*, *h* (say *käh*, *gäh*, *häh*) nearly<sup>2</sup>.

15. (1) Of the countless producible speech-sounds the I-E. *Ursprache* employed but comparatively few. Its phonetic system was based, primarily, on the action of the vocal organs at four distinct regions,—the guttural, palatal, dental, and labial; or back-palatal (velar), mid-palatal, front-palatal, and labial; or, again, at the root of the tongue, at the middle of the tongue, at the tip of the tongue, and at the lips. By varying arrangements or movements of the organs a group of sounds was formed at each of these regions; and the primitive system was completed by two or three intermediate sounds and a few simple combinations and modifications. The whole may be displayed, in accordance with the sketch in §§ 13, 14, as follows:—

### I. Open Sounds.

- (i) *Vowels*, short and long, viz.:—Guttural or back, *a*, *ā* (= *ä*, *ā*);—Semi-palatal, *e*, *ē*;—Palatal or middle, *i*, *ī*;—Half-rounded or faucial, *o*, *ō*;—Rounded or labialized, *u*, *ū*.
- (ii) *Diphthongs*:—*ai* (*ai*), *ei*, *oi*;—*au* (*au*), *eu*, *ou*.
- (iii) *Sonants*:—the trill, *r*;—the labio-nasal, *m*;—the dento-nasal, *n*;—the gutturo-nasal, *ŋ* (= *ng*): this group with both vowel and consonantal powers (§ 14 (3)).

<sup>2</sup> The founders of the English school of Phonetics are Mr. A. J. Ellis, in his great work on English Pronunciation and many smaller treatises, and Mr. A. Melville Bell in his "Visible Speech." The latest and best Text-books within a small compass are Mr. H. Sweet's "Handbook" in the Clarendon Press Series, and Prof. Ed. Sievers's "Grundzüge der Phonetik" (Leipsic, 1881); from either of which the literature of the subject may be discovered. The sketch in §§ 13, 14, above, is written in view merely of the requirements of this book; some of the terminology employed originated with Mr. Bell.



- (iv) *Spirants*:—Voiceless Dental spirant, or “sibilant,” *s*; Voiced ditto, *z*<sup>1</sup>;—Palatal “semivowel,” *j*; Labial ditto, *w*.

## II. Close Sounds<sup>2</sup>.

- (i) *Voiceless* or intensive *Stops*:—Velar, or rounded back-stop, *q*<sup>3</sup>;—Palatal or palato-guttural, *c*<sup>4</sup>;—Front or Dental, *t*; Labial, *p*.
- (ii) *Voiced* or relaxed *Stops* (a parallel series to the foregoing):—Velar, *g*<sup>3</sup>;—Palatal, *ɟ*<sup>3</sup>;—Dental, *d*;—Labial, *b*.
- (iii) *Aspirates* (a third parallel series; § 14 (6)):—Velar, *qh*<sup>3</sup>;—Palatal, *ɟh*<sup>3</sup>;—Dental, *dh*;—Labial, *bh*. Besides these, the normal (voiced) aspirates, there were a few voiceless ones (*qh*, *ch*, *th*, *ph*)<sup>4</sup>.

(2) The sounds just described may also be tabulated according to the several regions of formation, as follows:—

Gutturals:—*ʔ*, *ʔ̄* (= *a*, *ā*); *ng*<sup>5</sup>;

Velars:—*q*, *g*, (*qh*), *gh*; *o*, *ō*;

Semi-palatals:—*e*, *ē*;

Palatals:—*c*, *ɟ*, (*ch*), *ɟh*; *j*; *i*, *ī*;

Dentals:—*t*, *d*, (*th*), *dh*; *r*; *n*; *s*, *z*;

Labials:—*p*, *b*, (*ph*), *bh*; *m*; *w*; *u*, *ū* (See § 14 (6));

to which have to be added the Diphthongs as in I (ii) above.

16. (1) The foregoing tabulation may be provisionally called the primitive I-E. Alphabet. Historically, we know nothing about such an alphabet; but the place of records has been to a great extent supplied by investigations into and deductions from the nature of the speech-sounds employed, within historic times, over the whole known I-E.

<sup>1</sup> Derived from *s* in certain combinations: see Osthoff, KZ. XXIII. 87.

<sup>2</sup> In pronouncing the consonants the reader is recommended to combine with them the short *āh*-sound (*tāh*, *pāh*, &c.).

<sup>3</sup> The velars might be written *k<sub>w</sub>*, *g<sub>w</sub>*, *gh<sub>w</sub>*; and the palatals, *k<sup>j</sup>*, *g<sup>j</sup>*, *gh<sup>j</sup>*; to indicate that the gutturals were affected by labialism and palatalism, but to a degree now indeterminable (See § 20 below). *q* and *c* as used above are appropriate simple symbols, and leave *k* to stand, when required, for the clear guttural; but as we have no *g* corresponding to *q*, I have borrowed the German *g*.

<sup>4</sup> See Kluge, in KZ. XXVI. 88-92. It was formerly thought that these aspirates were secondary consonants derived from voiceless stops.

<sup>5</sup> The place of formation of this gutturo-nasal varies with that of the vowel which immediately precedes it.

area. As these investigations have become more minute and thorough, modifications in the deduced alphabet have become necessary; and some of the more important modifications recently introduced now require special notice, as bearing immediately upon Gothic Phonology. One of these affects the vowels and their combinations both with one another and with the liquids and nasals. The older view, based on that of the Sanskrit grammarians, was, that the three short vowels, *a*, *i*, *u*, were the foundation of the primitive, and hence of every derived, vowel-system, and that the short *e* and *o* prevalent in Europe radiated from the primitive *a*. It is now generally accepted, on the contrary, that (to neglect *i* and *u* for a moment) the European triplet *a*, *e*, *o* represents at least the later primitive condition of the simple vowels more nearly than does the single *a* of the Sanskrit which answers to them<sup>1</sup>. Of this triplet, the pair, *e*, *o*, as well as the diphthongs formed by them with *i* and *u* (*ei*, *oi*,—*eu*, *ou*) mostly appear, in Europe, in close and constant relationship to each other, and interchange, in various inflexional paradigms, on a plan which was probably settled in remotely primitive times by the influence of a varying accentuation, but which was afterwards much perturbed in the separate I-E. languages. As to *a*, it will be regarded by us, in this book, as a clear guttural vowel *a* (= *āh*)<sup>2</sup>, with which value it generally appeared in Europe. Compared with the variable *e*, it is mostly characterized, in the older European languages, by invariableness and persistency<sup>3</sup>. And not only might it (like *e* and *o*) enter into combination with a following *i* and *u* (*ai*, *au*=*ai*, *au*); but it also probably (like *i* and *u*) once stood after *e* and *o* as the second element of diphthongs which were afterwards reduced to long vowels (See § 17 (5)).

(2) As to *i* and *u*, it was formerly held that they were equally independent with *a*; also, that from them, by accretions of *a* (which might be lengthened to *ā*), there grew historically, just as there may be constructed phonetically, a series of diphthongs (*ai*, *au*, *āi*, *āu*), from which the European triplets *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, and *au*, *eo*, *ou*, radiated, in the same way

<sup>1</sup> As to the probable earlier form of *e* and *o*, see note <sup>2</sup> to § 17.

<sup>2</sup> Möller, in "Englische Studien" III., and PBB. VII. 482+, seems to deny to prim. *a* the character of a pure vowel; he treats it, standing alone, as originally a sonant, and in certain combinations as a sonant or a consonant, like the Semitic *Aleph*.

<sup>3</sup> In Skt., in unaccented syllables it sometimes becomes *i*; as in *duhitar*=*θuyarép*-, *pitar*=*parép*-, Lat. *pater*, Gothic *fadar*, "father": yet Teut. *duhter*-(Go. *daūhtar*, "daughter") indicates that it may occasionally vanish in Europe.

that *e* and *o* were supposed to have radiated from *a*. But later views make it doubtful whether, in the older stages of the *Ursprache*, *i* and *u* had any separate existence as speech-sounds. In the course of inflexion and derivation, at any rate, *i* and *u* appear to be debilitations of the diphthongs *ei*, *eu*, resulting from the settlement of the acute accent upon a neighbouring syllable; in consequence of which the variable *e* of the now unaccented (or weak) syllable ultimately vanished (compare 1 p. sing. prim. \**eími*, Skt. *émi* (for \**uími*), Grk. *εἶ-μι*, "I go," with 1 p. plur. prim. \**ímés*, Skt. *ímás*, Grk. *ἴ-μεν* for \**í-μέν*, "we go").

(3) The case of the long vowels is more perplexing. It is probable, however, that they were all secondary, *i. e.*, derived from the older short vowels or their diphthongs by phonetic processes<sup>4</sup>. But as further reference will be made to them when the individual instances arise, no more need be said here.

17. (1) From the relationships established among the vowels in the foregoing section, it has been found to follow that the vowel and diphthongal series run in triplets, the individual members (or grades) of each triplet having originally appeared in immediately related grammatical forms<sup>1</sup> which, as to their vocalism, varied with the accentuation,—a long vowel, or even two, being attached to certain series as outlying members of (probably) secondary origin. Thus the *e* and *o* diphthongal series (to take these first, on account of their great regularity) would stand as follows:—*ei*, *oi*, *i*, (+*ī*); *eu*, *ou*, *u* (+*ū*).

(2) Striking out the constant *i* (or *u*) from the first (or second) of these series, we arrive at the simple *e(o)*-series. But the third grade now becomes zero, which implies vowelless grammatical forms. And such forms not only ought to, but actually do, occur (*e. g.*, *πτ* in *πi-πτ-ω*, *√πετ*, "fall;" or *σχ* in *σχ-εῖν*, *√σεχ* (*ἔχω*), "have"). It is highly probable, indeed, that forms like these were once general

<sup>4</sup> See, as to *i* and *ū*, F. Kluge as cited in note<sup>5</sup> to § 19; and on the whole question, Osthoff in M.U. IV., who considers *ī*, *ū*, as well as *i*, *ū*, to have belonged to the weak grade. It is probable, indeed, as some think, that the weak forms *i*, *ū* were derived from *ei*, *eu*, through the intermediate long vowels *ī*, *ū* (Kögel, PBB. VIII. 108).

<sup>1</sup> In later times and in the separate languages there were often extensive perturbations; either the accent would shift without affecting the vowel (See *ἴμεν* in § 16 (2)), or one member of a triplet would penetrate into positions belonging to the others (thus, in our plural "we sang," the *a* originally belonged to the singular only).

in weak or unaccented root-syllables; although, later, the normal root-form (with *e*) frequently supplanted it (as, *e. g.*, in *πεπ-τός, σκεπ-τός*; or the Teut. *\*set-anás* = Go. *sit-ans*)—a change accelerated, if not initiated, by the fact that the relationship of cognate forms was obscured by the loss of the vowel (as would be the case with a Teut. *\*stanás*, or a Grk. *\*σκηπτός*, which last would have to be smoothed down to become pronounceable). Hence we find duplicate forms of the weak grade, viz., *zero* and *e*<sup>2</sup>; so that the simple *e*-series stands thus:—*e, o, zero* or *e, (+ē and also ō)*.

(3) Vowel-series that show the variations just displayed are called “Ablaut” series,—a convenient name first used by Grimm. But it is further convenient that the individual members or grades of each series should also be distinguished by appropriate names: “weak” (or “unaccented”) and “long” may pass; but for the first two grades the names employed by various scholars are diverse and even contradictory: it is here proposed to call the *e*-grades (*e, ei, eu*) the “high-tone,” and the *o*-grades (*o, oi, ou*) the “deep-tone,” grades; for, in spite of Osthoff’s dissent (M.U. IV.), it seems to me highly probable that, in accordance with the masterly hypothesis of Möller in PBB. VII. 482+, the *e*-grades originally fell under the acute, and the *o*-grades under the grave, accent. If, however, any one disagrees with this hypothesis, the terms “high-tone” and “deep-tone” may still be considered to indicate merely the musical quality of the *e* and *o* respectively<sup>3</sup>.

(4) *Λ*, or the stable *a* (*ǣh*), must of course have been subjected to the same accentual influences as the other vowels; but it is doubtful whether any normal I-E. or European series can be established either for it or for its diphthongs (*Λi, Au=ai, au*). Yet in some of the separate European languages there appear irregular remains of an *a*-series of the form *ǣ, ā* (or *ō*), *ǣ*; where quantity (or length) rather than quality affects the second member. In Gothic, the *Λ*-diph-

<sup>2</sup> Osthoff treats these also as coexistent by-forms like *i, ī, ū, ū* (Note 4, § 16).

<sup>3</sup> For this reason I have not used “acute” and “grave,” which would necessarily involve the hypothesis referred to.—I may remark in passing that, as *e* and *o* are intimately related, while no change of accent would suffice to turn *e* directly into *o*, or *o* into *e*, it would follow that they must both have radiated from a central and unstable *a*, which fell a victim to palatalism on the one side and labialism on the other,—a fate which may well be due to the action of the acute and grave accent, respectively. Hence some scholars write *a<sup>e</sup>* and *a<sub>o</sub>* (or equivalent symbols) for *e* and *o*,—*i. e.*, an *a* which, under differing conditions, became or might become *e* and *o*.

thongs, *ai* and *au*, persist, without variation, throughout all the related root-forms of certain verbs.

(5) More obscure, at least as to their origin, are certain long-vowel (*ā*- and *ē*-) series. For the *ā*-series (*ā*, *ō*, *ǻ*), Möller, improving on De Saussure, lays down a parent triplicate (*ea*, *oa*, *A*) formed from *A*, just as the *ei*- and *eu*-series were formed from *i* and *u* (*ea* and *oa* subsequently fusing into *ā* and *ō*). For the *ē*-series, Möller assumes a sonant, *E*, parallel to *A*, from which may similarly have been formed the triplicate *eE*, *oE*, *E*; whence, with fusion as before, *ē*, *ō*, *e*. But these explanations are only happy conjectures, for which there is no direct evidence; the existence of the long-vowel series themselves, however, must be acknowledged as a fact<sup>3</sup>.

18. (1) The vowel-system of the assumed European *Grundsprache* may be considered identical with that of the later stages of the *Ursprache* as above sketched, and may be displayed as follows:—

*European Vowel-system.*

	High- tone.	Deep- tone.	Weak.	Long.
<i>e</i> -series . . .	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>	—, ( <i>e</i> )	<i>ē</i> , <i>ō</i> ;
<i>ei</i> -series . . .	<i>ei</i>	<i>oi</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i> ;
<i>eu</i> -series . . .	<i>eu</i>	<i>ou</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i> ;
<i>ē</i> -series . . .	<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>e</i> ;	
<i>ā</i> -series . . .	<i>ā</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>a</i> ;	
<i>a</i> -series . . .	<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i> , <i>ō</i>	<i>a</i> ;	
<i>a</i> -diphthongs . . .		<i>ai</i> , <i>au</i> .		

(2) This is not an ideal scheme merely. It must have appeared, at first in all its clearness, and afterwards with a few changes, in the Teutonic *Grundsprache* (§ 21 below); and with further well-known and explicable changes it appears, fully displayed, in the Gothic. In the other old European languages it is already much deranged,—less perhaps in the Greek than in the rest; and as Greek is still extensively studied in this country, we will borrow from it a set of illustrations, as follows:—

<sup>3</sup> The “high-tone” grade (*ē*) of the latter series can hardly be the secondary long of the (*e*, *o*, —)-series in (2) above, as the verb-paradigms in which the (*ē*, *ō*, *e*)-series occurs are among the very oldest of I.-E. verbs.

*Vowel-gradation in Greek.*

<i>e</i> -series . . .	λεγ-, λογ-, λεγ- (λγ <sup>1</sup> ),	in	λέγω-, εἰ-λοχ-α (for *λέλογα), λεκ-τός;
<i>ei</i> -series . .	λειπ-, λοιπ-, λιπ-,	,,	λείπω-, λέ-λοιπ-α, ἔ-λιπ-ον;
<i>eu</i> -series . .	λευθ-, λουθ-, λυθ-,	,,	ἐ-λεύ(θ)-σομαι, (Aeol.) ἐλ-ή- λουθ-α, ἦ-λυθ-ον;
<i>ē</i> -series . . .	θη-, θω-, θε-,	,,	τί-θη-μι, (subst.) θω-μός <sup>2</sup> , τί- θε-μεν;
<i>ā</i> -series . .	φᾱ-(φη-), φω-, φα,	,,	(φᾱ-μι)φη-μί, (subst.) φω-νῆ <sup>2</sup> , φᾱ-μεν;
<i>a</i> -series <sup>3</sup> . .	λαθ-, ληθ-(=λᾱθ-), λαθ-,	,,	λα(ν)θ-άνω, λέ-ληθ-α, ἔ-λαθ-ον.

The *A*- (= *a*-) diphthongs (*ai*, *au*) occur in various detached and derived words; as in *αἰ-ών*, *λαι-ός*, *ταῦ-ρος*, *αῦ-ως* (Lesbian), &c., &c.

(3) When preserved at all, the triplicate of related vowels appears most clearly in the related root-forms of the verb-scheme. But interchange also appears among "thematic" or stem-forming vowels both of verbs (as *o* in *φέρ-ο-μεν* by *ε* in *φέρ-ε-τε*, &c.) and also of nouns (as *o* and *η* = *ā*, in nom. s. *ἄνθρωπ-ο-ς*, *πο-λίτ-η-ς*, by *ε* and *ᾱ* in voc. *ἄνθρωπ-ε*, *πόλιτ-ᾱ*). It is highly probable, indeed, that in the primitive noun the vowels of root-syllables and of stem- and case-suffixes varied similarly to those of related verbal roots and suffixes, in accordance with an established plan of accent-shifting; although, later, a single root-form generally permeated all the cases; as the *o*-form *ποδ-* "foot," in Grk., but the *e*-form *ped-* in Lat.; while the long *ō* of the deep-tone *ō* appears in Dor. *πώς* and Go. *fōt-us*; and the vowel-less weak grade *bd* for *p'd* appears in some Zend derivatives.

19. (1) But, as follows from §§ 13–15 above, the combinations of vowels with following sonants are a species of diphthong; and they accordingly form series in which *r*, &c., play the same part that *i* and *u* do in the *ei*- and *eu*-series. With *A(a)* such combinations persist (at least in Gothic); but, with the fluctuating vowel, triplicate grades are formed, which run through related verb-roots in precisely the same way, and under the same conditions with respect to accentuation, as the several vowel-series already mentioned: and thus

<sup>1</sup> See § 17 (2).

<sup>2</sup> These are related substantives: but an old pf. sing. with *ω*, in the *ē*-series, is extant in the Doric *ἀφ-έω-κα*; where *έω* = \**σεσω*-, pf. to *ση* in the pres. *ἦμι* = \**σί-ση-μι*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lat. *scāb-ere*, *scāb-i*,—the vowel-change being quantitative.

we get the four sonant-series : *em, om, m<sup>1</sup>* ;—*en, on, n<sup>1</sup>* ;—*er, or, r* ;—and, for Europe, *el, ol, l<sup>2</sup>*.

(2) The interest here lies in the weak grades or sonants proper (*m, n, r, l*). The vocal quality of these is, in our own language (§14 (3)), a dull murmur slightly differing as we pass from the nasals to *r* and from *r* to *l*. But it does not follow, and was not in fact the case, that they had, and have, precisely the same vocal quality amongst other peoples. In the older languages their vowel force was certainly more distinct. In Skt., *r* (*rī*) and *l* (*lī*) are placed among the vowels ; and the grammarians give to *r* the value  $\frac{a}{1} + \frac{r}{2} + \frac{a}{1}$ ,—*i. e.*, an *r*-sound flanked by rudimentary *a*-sounds (*cf.* the Zend value *ere*<sup>3</sup>) ; but *m* and *n* evolved a secondary vowel *a* before them, and in the permanently weak (unaccented) position *m* and *n* ultimately vanished, leaving only this *a*. In Europe all the four sonants from rudimentary vowels evolved full vowels, which generally, but not always, preceded them ; and these vowels differed very considerably in different linguistic areas. In Greek (where *m* mostly became *n*) the evolved vowel was *a*, giving *ap* (or *pa*), *aλ* (or *λα*) and *av*, and from *av*=*n* the *v* vanished (*cf.* the Skt. *a*=*an*=*n*, above) leaving only *a* ; while *ρ* and *λ* persisted. For the Greek therefore the normal Sonant-system became :—

*ev, ov, a* ;—*ep, op, ap* (or *pa*) ;—*ελ, ολ, αλ* (*λα*).

Examples :

*ev*-series .. *γεν-, τον-, τα-*, as in *τείνω* (= \**τέινω*), (subst.) *τόνος, τέ-τα-κα* ;

*ep*-series .. *δερκ-, δορκ-, δρακ-*, ,, *δέρκ-ομαι, δέ-δορκ-α, ε-δρακ-ον* ;

*ελ*-series .. *στελ-, στολ-, σταλ-*, ,, *στέλλω* (= \**στέλω*), (subst.) *στόλος, ε-σταλ-κα*.

In Latin and O.Irish the evolved vowel appears generally as *e* ; in Lithuanian as *i* ; in Teutonic as *u, o* ; in Gothic as *u* only<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See note <sup>1</sup> to § 14.

<sup>2</sup> *l*, as such, probably did not exist in the *Ursprache*, but was evolved in the separate languages out of *r*,—or perhaps out of one of two varieties of *r*.

<sup>3</sup> Although Bartholomæ (BB. VII. 185+) maintains that the second *e* is an accretion.

<sup>4</sup> The sonant-theory has been subjected to a powerful and ingenious, but scarcely successful, attack by Kögel, PBB. VIII. 101–125.

(3) The weak grades also appear both in the radical syllables of many detached words (*e. g.*:  $\beta$ - $\rho$ - $\acute{\alpha}$ - $\acute{\delta}\acute{\upsilon}$ -=*Skt.*  $m\ddot{r}d\acute{u}$ -; — $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\kappa$  $\alpha$ - $\tau\acute{o}\nu$ =*Lat.* *cen*-tum=*Go.* *hun*-da-=*Skt.*  $\check{c}a$ -tám; *prim. grdf.*  $\therefore$   $c\acute{m}t\acute{o}$ -); and in formative and in inflexional suffixes,—where, however, the secondary vowel is often assimilated to that of other forms of the suffix in the same paradigm (*e. g.*: stem  $\pi\omicron\iota\mu$ - $\epsilon\nu$ -, *Dat. pl.*  $\pi\omicron\iota\mu$ - $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\sigma\iota$ , for - $a$ - $\sigma\acute{\iota}$ , *i. e.* - $\eta$ - $\sigma\acute{\iota}$ ;—stem  $\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu$ - $\omicron\nu$ -, *D. pl.*  $\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu$ - $\acute{o}$ - $\sigma\iota$ , also for - $a$ - $\sigma\acute{\iota}$ , *i. e.* - $\eta$ - $\sigma\acute{\iota}$ ;—but stem  $\mu\eta\tau$ - $\epsilon\rho$ -, *D. pl.* correctly (but with shifted accent, as in the preceding instances)  $\mu\eta\tau$ - $\acute{\rho}\acute{\alpha}$ - $\sigma\iota$ , for - $\eta$ - $\sigma\acute{\iota}$ ). It should be noted that the syllabic force of the sonants mostly comes out either between two consonants or *in fine* after a consonant. After a vowel, and generally before a vowel (*e. g.*, *D. sing.*  $\mu\eta\tau$ - $\rho$ - $\acute{\iota}$ , not - $\alpha\rho$ - $\iota$ ), the sonants assume their consonantal force (See § 24 (3))<sup>5</sup>.

20. With the foregoing outline we leave the older vocalism. One other modern reform of the primitive alphabet, dealing with the guttural stops, must now be referred to. It was formerly supposed that the clear or central gutturals (*ka, ga, gha*) were the original ones, from which other “affected” varieties were thought to have been derived by the accretion of a “parasitic” spirant,—labial (*w*) or palatal (*j=y*), as the case might be. It is now generally accepted that, on the contrary, the primitive speech possessed only the two affected series of gutturals,—the rounded or labialized gutturals (“velars”), and the palato-gutturals; and that the clear *k*’s, wherever they appear in the separate languages, were derived from *k*’s of one or the other of the affected series. Taking this later view for granted, we pass on to mention some remarkable phonetic results of the different treatment which these two varieties of gutturals underwent in different linguistic areas. Thus:

<sup>5</sup> The foregoing sections (16–19) have special reference to Brugman in Curtius’s “Studien,” IX., and in KZ. XXIV., where the modern theory of I-E. vocalism was first definitely propounded;—to Brugm. and Osthoff in M.U. *passim*;—De Saussure, “Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles”; F. Kluge, Q. und F. XXXII.;—J. Schmidt in KZ. XXV. 1+; G. Meyer’s Grk. Grammar;—and many valuable treatises, especially those of Paul and Möller in PBB. and of Collitz and Fick in BB.—It deserves passing mention that Geiger (“Ursprung der Sprache,” I.) and afterwards Begemann (“Schwache Präteritum”) were the first to reverse the old idea of *guna* (or supposed elevation of *i* to *ai* (our *ei*) and *u* to *au* (our *eu*)). [See also the recent strictures on these later views by Curtius (deceased, alas! as this sheet goes to press) in his “Kritik,” and the reply of Brugman, “Zum heutigen Stand der Sprachwissenschaft.”]



(1) The labial affection may appear as a full-blown spirant attached to the guttural; as in the *u* (= *v*) of the Latin *qu* (= *kw*),—*quis*, *quatuor*, *sequor*, *torqueo*, &c.;—or the Gothic *hw* in *hwas*, *hwa*=Engl. *who*, *what*.

(2) The labial element of a velar may transmute the guttural element into a labial consonant; *e. g.*: ἔπ-ομαι=Lat. *sequ*-or;—τρέπει-ω=Lat. *torqu*-eo;—βαίνω (*i. e.* \**βav*-jω=γfm-jω)=Lat. *ven*-io (for \**gwem*-io);—Go. *fīdwōr*, “four,” for \**hwidwōr* (§ 32 (2) below).

(3) The guttural element of a velar may vanish, leaving only the labial spirant (or the related vowel *u*); as in the Lat. *ven*-io (*i. e.*, *wen*- for *gwem*-; see (2) above);—vor-o (*i. e.*, *wor*- for *gwor*-)=βop- (for γfop-), βρω- in βopά, βι-βρώ-σκω: and closely similar are Lat. *ubi* for *cubi*, *i. e.*, \**quobi*; *utero*- for *cutero*, *i. e.*, \**quotero*.

(4) The palatals may pass into various sibilated spirants; as in Skt. and Zd. *çata*=Lith. *szimtas*=O.Slav. *suto*; (but Lat. *centum*, Grk. ἑ-κα-τόν, Go. *hunda*-).

(5) The velars themselves may be palatalized (though not sibilated) by the influence of a subjoined palatal vowel (*e*, *i*) or semivowel (*j*=*y*). These reduced velars may be called “palato-velars”; and their appearance in Skt., followed by *a*, is perhaps the most cogent piece of evidence that certain Skt. *a*’s have superseded the older *e*’s to which this effect on the velars is due<sup>1</sup>. Thus Skt. *k’akrám*<sup>2</sup> “wheel”=Grk. κύκλος for κφεκφλός=Teut. \**hweulá*- for \**hwegwlá*-; prim. grdf. \**qeqró*. Similarly, as Skt. *a* in the reduplicating syllable of perfects is = a previous *e*, an initial velar of that syllable became a “palato-velar”; as: *kar*, “make” (*k*=*q*), perfect *k’a-kara*, “I made, or have made.” In Greek the velars are thrown forward by the high vowels to the dental position; as in τ-ίς=Lat. *quis*;—τ-έσσαρες=Skt. *k’atvāras*=Lat. *quatuor* for \**quetwor*(es);—ἀ-δ-ελφο- =Skt. (sa-)garbha-, cf. Go. *kalbō*, “calf.”

(6) Either affection may vanish, leaving a clear guttural. Thus (i) the Aryan and Letto-Slavic languages are averse to labialism; so that the velars (except where they fall under (5) above) appear as clear gutturals; while (ii), on the other hand, Latin, Greek, and Gothic are averse to palatalism (at least, the letters employed do not indicate it); and (iii) even

<sup>1</sup> This acute observation was made first of all by Karl Verner; see Osthoff in M.U. I. 116, *note*.

<sup>2</sup> *k*, *g*=Engl. *ch*, *j*, in *church*, *judge* (= *juj*).

labialism may, under circumstances not always determinable, also disappear in these same languages. Hence, by (i), the various forms of the velar in Latin, Greek, and Gothic, should normally be answered to by a clear guttural in Skt., Lith., &c. (but see (5) above); as: Lat. *jecur* for \**jequor*, Grk.  $\eta\text{-}\pi\text{-}\alpha\rho(\tau)$  = Skt. *ják-rt* and *jak-an-*, Lith. *jek-na*;—by (ii), a clear guttural in Lat., Grk., Go. should normally be answered to by a sibilated palatal in Skt., Lith., &c.; as: Lat. *can-is*, Grk.  $\kappa\text{-}\acute{\upsilon}\omega\nu$  = Skt. *çvan*, Zd. *çpan*, Lith. *szun-*, O.Slav. *su-ka*;—and by (iii) a clear guttural in Lat., Grk., &c., may be answered to by a clear guttural (indicating an older velar) in Skt., &c.; as:  $\kappa\text{-}\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$  = Skt. *kalja*;  $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\text{-}\kappa\text{-}\acute{o}\varsigma$  = Lith. *laukas*.

(7) Generally speaking, then, in the Aryan and Letto-Slavic languages the velars appear as clear gutturals and the palatals as sibilants; while in the other leading European languages the labialism of the velars generally persists and the palatals appear as clear gutturals. But there are a good many gutturals in the separate languages as to which it is not yet determined, and perhaps never will be, whether they belong to one series or the other; while there are some probable instances in which the gutturals of one series have, under surrounding influences, passed over to the other<sup>3</sup>. However, the normal correspondent values of the two series (leaving aside the *Tenues aspiratæ*), as shown at the principal linguistic centres, may be summed up for future reference as follows:—

	Prim.	Skt.	Zd.	O.Slav.	Lith.	Grk.	Lat.	Gothic.
Velars.	{	q (k <sub>w</sub> )	=k, k' =k, k'=k, ċ=k	=π, κ, τ	=qu, c			=hw, h, w;
	{	g (g <sub>w</sub> )	=g, g' =g, g'=g, ž=g	=β, γ, δ	=(gw), w (v)	=kw(qu), k;		
	{	gh (gh <sub>w</sub> )	=gh, h=g, g'=g, ž=g	=φ, χ, θ	=gu, g, v, h, f	=gw, g, w;		
Palatals.	{	c (k <sup>j</sup> )	=ç	=ç	=s	=sz =κ	=c	=h;
	{	ç (g <sup>j</sup> )	=g'	=z	=z	=ž =γ	=g	=k;
	{	çh (gh <sup>j</sup> )	=h	=z	=z	=ž =χ	=g	=g.

(As to the palato-velars, *k'* (= *ç* nearly) and *g'*, see note <sup>2</sup> above; *ç* and *sz*=our *sh* (in *shall*, &c.) nearly; *ž, ž*=*zh*, =*z* in *azure*, nearly.)

<sup>3</sup> See J. Schmidt in KZ. XXV.

(8) It may be added that, although in some of the older languages palatalism cannot be distinctly traced, yet the younger related dialects often exhibit virulent outbreaks of this affection,—the Romance languages, for example, in comparison with the Latin; and English and Friesic in comparison with Gothic and O.H.G.: thus, Lat. *carmen* = French *charme* (*sharme*); L. *centum*, *civitatem* (*i.e.*, *ken-*, *kiv-*) = Fr. *cent*, *cit  * (*sent*, *sit  *); &c., &c.;—and Go. *kinnus* = Engl. *chin*, O.Fries. *szin-*; Go. *gairnjan* = Engl. *gearn*, O.F. *ieria*; &c., &c.<sup>4</sup>

21. We are now in a position to attack the special phonology of the Gothic; and its vocalism may be best approached through that of the common Teutonic. In its oldest form the Teut. vowel-system must have agreed very closely with the common European (§ 18 (1) above); but in its latest stage certain modifications were established, the chief of which (inherited and in some instances extended by the Gothic) were these:—(i) *e* became *i* before combinations of nasal and consonant, and also before an immediately following *i* or *j*; as in *b  ndan*, *dr  nkan*; 2 p.s. *h  lpis*, 3 p.s. *h  lpid*, but infin. *helpan*; &c.;—(ii) *  * generally became *  * (and *oi*, *ou*, similarly, *ai*, *au*), and thus identical in form with *a* = *  * (and its diphthongs with the *  *-diphthongs); as in *band*, “I bound,” *drank*, “I drank,” &c.;—(iii) *ei*, or *e* + *i*, became *i* + *i*, that is *  *; as in *b  tan*, “to bite,” for \**beitan*;—(iv) prim. *  * (*  *) became *  * (*  * identical in form with *  * of the   -(  )-series); as in *br  per* = Lat. *fr  ter*;—to which may be added that, in answer to the *  * of the Gothic, there appear three values (*  * or *  * and *  *) in the non-Gothic dialects<sup>1</sup>. The whole scheme therefore stood thus:—

<sup>4</sup> Ascoli, in Italy, in his Lectures on Phonology, was the first to expound the nature of the two primitive guttural series. He was followed by M. Havet in France (see especially “M  moires de la Soci  t   de la Linguistique,” 1874), and by Fick in Germany (“Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas,” G  ttingen, 1873); but the latter mistakenly confined the phenomena to the tenues only. The examples of *z* and *zh* in Skt. and Zd. have been carefully investigated by H  bschmann, KZ. XXIII. 385–400; the palato-velars by J. Schmidt, KZ. XXV. 64–179. For an investigation of Palatalism in the Teutonic dialects, see H. M  ller, “Die Palatalreihe . . . im Germanischen” (Leipzig, 1875); and the greater part of his article on Epenthesis in KZ. XXIV.; for contributions to the history of Velarism, F. Kluge, Q. und F., XXXII. 42–46, and Osthoff in PBB. VIII. 256–287.

<sup>1</sup> Of these, *  * and *  * may have radiated from the intermediate *  *, as Braune suggests (PBB. IX. 547).

*Teutonic Vowel-system.*

	High-tone.	Deep-tone.	Weak.	Long.
<i>e</i> -series . . .	<i>e, i</i>	<i>a</i>	—, <i>e</i>	<i>ē</i> ( <i>ā, æ</i> ), <i>ō</i> ;
<i>ei</i> -series . . .	<i>ī</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i> ;
<i>eu</i> -series . . .	<i>eu</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i> ;
<i>ē</i> -series . . .	<i>ē</i> ( <i>ā, æ</i> )	<i>ō</i>	<i>ē</i> ( <i>ā, æ</i> ) <sup>2</sup> ;	
<i>ā</i> -series . . .	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i> <sup>3</sup> ;	
<i>a</i> -series . . .	<i>a</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>a</i> ;	
<i>a</i> -diphthongs . . . <i>ai, au</i> , in all positions.				

For the sonant-system we have to bear in mind the evolved vowels of the weak grades (§ 19 (2) above): these were *u* (for the nasals) and *o* (for the liquids), by the side of which *m, n, r, l* assumed a consonantal character; thus:—

<i>em</i> -series . . . .	<i>em</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>um</i> ;
<i>en</i> -series . . . .	<i>en</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>un</i> ;
<i>er</i> -series . . . .	<i>er</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>or, ro</i> ;
<i>el</i> -series . . . .	<i>el</i>	<i>al</i>	<i>ol</i> .

*a* (A) + the several sonants gives *am, an, ar, al* in all positions.

22. (1) In Gothic the changes effected in the later Teutonic are adopted, and two of them are further developed; viz.: (i) prim. and Eur. *e* is, with certain exceptions (especially in the reduplicating syllable of verbs, where it appears as *ai*, but with the value of *e*<sup>1</sup>), everywhere palatalized to *i*, both alone and in combination; and (ii) the vowel (Teut. *o*) evolved from the weak grades of the liquid-series becomes *u*<sup>2</sup>, as in the case of the nasals. By (i), therefore, Teut. *eu* (= *e + u*) becomes (*i + u* =) *iu*; just as Eur. *ei* (= *e + i*) had already become (*i + i* =) *ī* in Teut.: for *ī*, however, Ulfilas writes *ei* (probably in imitation of the Greek, in which, in his day, *ei* was also = *ī* in sound), and this diphthongal form (*ei*) is used for the genuine long *ī* also. The high-tone sonants similarly become, by (i), *im, in, ir, il*; while, by (ii), the weak grades became *um, un, ur* or *ru*, and *ul*.

(2) The foregoing modifications being allowed for, the Gothic, in its old verb-system, will still be found to exhibit the primitive triplication of vowel-grades with beautiful regularity. The following scheme is, accordingly, enucleated

<sup>2</sup> In place of *ē* (See § 18 (1)).

<sup>3</sup> In place of *ā* (A).

<sup>1</sup> See § 10 above.

<sup>2</sup> But the special phenomenon of Refraction (*Brechung*), whereby *i* and *u* appear as *ai* and *au* (= *ē, ō*) before *h* and *r*, should be borne in mind (§ 10 (2)).

(so to say) from the various classes of the Gothic Primary (or "Strong") Verbs, of which it may be considered as the index or exponent. (For convenience, the sonant-series are brought immediately under the *e*-series, to which their high- and deep-tone grades really belong):—

*Gothic Vowel-system.*

	High-tone.	Deep-tone.	Weak.	Long.
<i>e</i> -series . . . .	<i>i</i> ( <i>ai</i> )	<i>a</i>	—, <i>i</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>ē</i> , <i>ō</i> ;
<i>em</i> -, <i>en</i> -, <i>el</i> -series.	<i>im</i> , <i>in</i> , <i>il</i>	<i>am</i> , <i>an</i> , <i>al</i>	<i>um</i> , <i>un</i> , <i>ul</i> ;	
<i>er</i> -series . . . .	<i>air</i> , <i>ri</i>	<i>ar</i> , <i>ra</i>	<i>aír</i> , <i>ru</i> ;	
<i>ei</i> -series . . . .	<i>ei</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ei</i> (= <i>ī</i> ) ;
<i>eu</i> -series . . . .	<i>iu</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>au</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i> ;
<i>ē</i> -series . . . .	<i>ē</i> <sup>5</sup>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ē</i> <sup>5</sup> ;	
<i>ā</i> -series . . . .	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i> ;	
<i>a</i> -series . . . .	<i>a</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>a</i> ;	
<i>ai</i> - and <i>au</i> -series.	<i>ai</i> , <i>au</i>	<i>ai</i> , <i>au</i>	<i>ai</i> , <i>au</i> ;	
<i>an</i> -, <i>ar</i> -, <i>al</i> -series.	<i>an</i> , <i>ar</i> , <i>al</i>	<i>an</i> , <i>ar</i> , <i>al</i>	<i>an</i> , <i>ar</i> , <i>al</i> .	

(The *am*-series does not occur.)

To the long vowels, *ā* should be added; which, however, is nearly always secondary.

23. (1) Vowel-gradation appears in Gothic stem-suffixes, just as in those of Greek and Latin (§ 18 (3)). Thus, 1 p. plur. present, *baír-a-m* = *φέρ-ο-μεν*; but 2 p. pl., *baír-i-þ* = *φέρ-ε-τε*; —Acc. plur. *wulf-a-ns*; but Gen. sing. *wulf-i-s*; —N. pl. of *i*-declension, *balg-ei-s*, "leathern bottle," for *\*balg-iþis* = *\*balg-ei-es* (cf. *πόλ-ει-ς* and *πόλεες* for *\*πόλ-ει-ες*); but A. pl. *balg-i-ns*; —N. pl. of *u*-declension, *sun-ju-s* for *\*sun-ius* = *\*sun-eu-es*; but N. sing. *sun-u-s* (cf. *πήχ-ε(F)-ες* for *-ευ-ες*, by *πήχ-υ-ς*); —and similarly, in consonantal stems, A. s. *fad-a-r* for *\*fad-er* = *πατ-έρ-α*; but Dat. s. *fad-r* = *πατ-ρ-ί*; —A. s. *ab-an*, "man, husband," G. s. *ab-in-s*, D. and G. pl. *ab-n-am*, *ab-n-ē*; cf. Lat. *ord-on-* (implied in N. s. *ord-o*), G. s. *ord-in-is*, D. pl. *ord-ini-bus* for *ord-η-bus*.

(2) But, as before said, the chief seat of the triplicate vowel-gradation is in the system of Primary or Strong Verbs. These verbs are one of the most striking features of all Teutonic Grammar, ancient and modern; but nowhere do their original characters appear in such completeness and symmetry as in the Gothic; and any one who has mastered the tabulation of § 22 (2) and the phonetic principles under-

<sup>3</sup> For the perturbed *e*-series, *i*, *ē*, *i*, see § 24 (2).

<sup>4</sup> For this grade the long (*ū*) sometimes appears.

<sup>5</sup> But see *saia*, &c., in § 25 (2).

lying it, holds the key to the vocalism of the whole of the Strong-verb system. To illustrate this statement, we will examine the root-forms upon which the several paradigms of primary verbs are constructed,—first glancing, however, at the formation of the I-E. perfect tense and at some of its oldest modifications.

(3) The stem of the I-E. perfect of primary verbs was originally formed by prefixing a "reduplicating" syllable to the root of the verb. It has long been supposed that this syllable was at first a repetition of the root itself, but was afterwards worn down, in most instances, to a uniform pattern, and made to exercise a merely grammatical function. But this very natural view remains a supposition only. At any rate, J. Schmidt,<sup>1</sup> has, on weighty evidence, concluded that the reduplication, as far back as we can discover anything about it, consisted of an initial consonant like that of the root (when the root had one) *plus* the unstable vowel *e* ( $=a^e$ )<sup>2</sup>; and that, at a later period of the *Ursprache*, while some of the perfect forms remained unaltered, others underwent contraction or abbreviation, according to the position of the primitive accent and the nature of the radical syllable. J. S. thinks that the 1 p. s. pf., which showed the deep-tone vowel and was, at least in later prim. times, accented on the root, kept its full form ( $\sqrt{bher}$ ,  $\phi\epsilon\rho$ , "bear," 1 p. s. perf., Skt. *ba-bhár-a*, = a Grk.  $\ast\pi\epsilon-\phi\omicron\rho\alpha$ , "I bore";— $\sqrt{g_wem}$ , "come," 1 p. s. *g'a-gám-a*, "I came"). In the plural two varieties arose: ( $\alpha$ ) its "persons" being accented on the personal suffixes, a radical *e*( $a^e$ ) vanished if possible, and the redupl. syll. persisted (1 p. pl. Skt. *ba-bhr-má*, Eur.  $\ast bhe-bhr-má$ , "we bore"; 3 p. pl. Skt. *g'a-gm-ús*, "they came");—but ( $\beta$ ) when, for any reason, the vowel of the root did not vanish in the plural, as, *e. g.*, when the high-tone  $\sqrt{\phantom{x}}$  contained an *e*-diphthong, leaving *i* or *u* in the weak grade, then the vowel of the reduplication (which was now two removes from the acute accent), and hence the syllable itself, vanished. Thus  $\sqrt{teks}$ , Skt. *taksh*, "hew, fashion," gives 1 p. s. pf. *ta-táksh-a*, but 3 p. pl. (Vedic) *taksh-ús* (not  $\ast ta-tksh-ús$ ) for  $\ast t'taksh-ús$ ; and  $\sqrt{weid}$ , "see," gives

<sup>1</sup> In KZ. XXV. 1-179: the above section is partly based on J. S.'s conclusions. Osthoff, however, on his theory of duplicate weak roots (M.U. IV., *Vorwort*) reverses some of these conclusions; he thinks, *e. g.*, that the reduplication-less perfects started from the sing., not the plur.

<sup>2</sup> Hence, where, in the separate languages, other vowels than *e* ( $a^e$ ) appear in the redupl. syllable, they are due to the assimilation of this vowel to that of the radical syllable: this is demonstrable in the classical Latin *mo-mordi*, *cu-curri*, and the like, in comparison with the ancient *me-mordi*, *ce-curri*, &c.

1 p. pl. Skt. *vid-má*=Ep. *ἴδ-μεν*=Go. *wit-um*. At any rate, it is highly probable that the *Ursprache* at one time possessed perfect forms, of which some maintained the full reduplication, while others had either undergone contraction in the radical syllable (in which case, as we shall see, reduplication was obscured), or had actually lost the reduplication. When the I-E. dialects grew into independent languages, each gave swing, as regards this tense<sup>3</sup>, to that leveling tendency<sup>4</sup> in virtue of which differing forms (especially if they be nearly related) are adjusted to one and the same pattern. In the Aryan dialects and in Greek, reduplication was generally restored to all perfect forms. In Latin many remains of the old perfects were similarly treated, while others dropt the reduplication throughout (*scābi*, *scābimus*; *fōdi*, *fōdimus*, &c.). In Teutonic the whole body of primary verbs arranged themselves in two classes. The larger of the two comprised all those verbs in which the triplicate vowel-gradation was most clearly preserved,—i. e., all those involving radical *e*, alone or in combination, as well as the (*ǣ*, *ō*, *ǫ*)-series: these dropt the reduplication everywhere except where it had become obscured<sup>5</sup>; for their tense-stems were sufficiently well marked by their proper vocalism. The other class comprised those verbs of which the radical vowel was uniform and rigid in all the tense-stems,—i. e., originally and strictly, those involving *ō*=*ā* (*ā*) and the *a*-(*A*)-diphthongs, both vowel and sonant: these show reduplication throughout the perfect; and with them in this respect agree verbs of the *ē*-series, which are thus distinguished from the *ǣ*- (= *ǣ*-) verbs which show the same deep-tone grade (*ō*). The former class are called “Ablaut” verbs; the latter, “Reduplicating” verbs; and the full reduplication is preserved in Gothic alone of the Teut. dialects; although it is in some instances traceable in the other dialects under the spurious Ablaut forms to which it is reduced<sup>6</sup>.

24. In the *Ablaut* verbs the high-tone root-vowel or diphthong appears throughout the present tense, the deep-

<sup>3</sup> But in some (as in the Letto-Slavic dialects) it was dropt altogether.

<sup>4</sup> “*Uniformierung*,” sometimes called “Analogy,” or better, “Form-assimilation”: this is perhaps the most striking line of action of the intuitive economy of labour in language; and in largely saving mental effort, as it does, it is perfectly indifferent whether it increases or diminishes physical labour,—a point of much less importance.

<sup>5</sup> See § 24 (2).

<sup>6</sup> In Teut. generally the old perfect indicated various aspects of past time, and is often called the *preterite*,—a term which will hereafter, for the most part, be employed in this book.

tone in the preterite (=perf.) *singular indicative* only, and the weak grade in the rest of the preterite<sup>1</sup> and in the perfect, passive, or past participle (as it is variously called). The parts of the Gothic verb, therefore, chosen as "principal parts" (*i. e.*, forms which contain the representative root-varieties) are,—the 1st person singular present, the 1 p. s. pret., and the 1 p. plur. pret., of the indicative; to which must be added the stem of the past ptcp.

(1) In these main parts, the three vowel-grades are shown most clearly by the verbs involving the *ei-* and the *iu-* series<sup>2</sup>. Thus *beit-*, "bite," and *biug-*, "bend, bow," show the parts:

1 p. s. pres.	1 p. s. pret.	1 p. pl. pret.	Stem of ptcp.
{ <i>beita</i> I bite	<i>bait</i> I bit	<i>bit-um</i> we bit	<i>bit-ana-</i> , bitten;
{ <i>biug-a</i> I bend	<i>baug</i> I bent	<i>bug-um</i> we bent	<i>bug-ana-</i> , bent.

(Compare the  $\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi$ - and  $\lambda\epsilon\nu\theta$ -series, § 18 (2)).

(2) In those verbs whose roots showed *i* (=e) followed by a single mute, the vocalism of the pret. plur. is out of harmony with that of the other leading parts; but the derangement is carried through all verbs of this formation with such uniformity that it simulates the aspect of a new and regular long-vowel grade ( $\bar{e}$ ). Examples:

1 p. s. pres.	1 p. s. pret.	1 p. pl. pret.	Stem of ptcp.
{ <i>it-a</i> I ēat	( <i>at</i> ?) <i>ēt</i> <sup>3</sup> I āte	<i>ēt-um</i> we āte	<i>it-ana-</i> , eaten;
{ <i>sit-a</i> I sit	<i>sat</i> I sat	<i>sēt-um</i> we sat	<i>sit-ana-</i> , *sitten, sat;
{ <i>gib-a</i> I give	<i>gaf</i> <sup>4</sup> I gave	<i>gēb-um</i> we gave	<i>gib-ana-</i> , given.

In *ēt* and *ēt-um*, the  $\bar{e}$  is = *e* + *a* and  $\bar{e}$  +  $\bar{e}$ ,—*i. e.*, it is a very an-

<sup>1</sup> But see subsection (2) below.

<sup>2</sup> The reader is requested to refer, throughout this section, to the tabulation in § 22 (2).

<sup>3</sup> This form is certified by the 3 p. s. pret. (*frēt*) of the compound *fra-itan*, "to devour," and by the long vowel in O.N. (*āt*), O.H.G. (*āz*), and A.S. (*æt*): *āt* does not occur in Ulfilas; it has apparently been constructed by grammarians on the model of the other singular preterites of the series. (See Brugman, M.U., IV. 411-414; Kluge, Q.undF. XXXII. 61; Scherer, "Zur Gesch.," &c., 2nd ed. 237-8.)

<sup>4</sup> For the final *f* answering to interior *b*, see § 31.



cient, probably primitive, fusion of the redupl. syll. (*e*) and the radical vowel (cf. Lat. *ēdi*, *ēdimus*). The pret. of this verb and perhaps that of *es-* (afterwards lost in Teut.) are thought by some to have set a pattern to which all plur., dual, and opt. forms of this class of verbs were assimilated (See note <sup>4</sup> to the preceding §). It is not less probable, however, that, as Scherer, J. Schmidt, and others agree, a few more, at any rate, of such plurals are to be attributed to the *Ursprache*.—a view supported by the exact agreement of Go. *sēt-*, Lat. *sēd-*, and Skt. *sēd-*, and by other similar forms. Prim. *sēd-* is for *\*sezd-*; i. e., *sēd-* is a compression of the redupl. syll. and a weak vowel-less (§ 17 (2)) root *zd = s'd* (cf. Lat. *nīd-us* = Skt. *nīd-a*, for *\*nīzd-a*, Teut. *nest* <sup>5</sup>). A few of such forms being established, the other verbs of a similar root-form would be attracted to their pattern (e. g., *gēbum* would be compressed from *geg'bum = ge-g(i)b-um*).

(3) Verbs with radical *i* (*=e=a'*), followed by a liquid or nasal only, resemble the preceding class in the third form of the root; but the root in the ptc. shows the sonant value; e. g. :

{ <i>nima</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>nēmum</i>	<i>numana-</i> ,
{ I take	I took	we took	taken;
{ <i>stila</i>	<i>stal</i>	<i>stēlum</i>	<i>stulana-</i> ,
{ I steal	I stole	we stole	stolen;
{ <i>baíra</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>bērum</i>	<i>baúrana-</i> ,
{ I bear	I bore (bare)	we bore (bare)	borne :

add the following, where the radical sonant precedes the evolved vowel, which is followed by a mute :—

{ <i>brika</i>	<i>brak</i>	<i>brēkum</i>	<i>brukana-</i> ,
{ I break	I broke (brake)	we broke (brake)	broken.

In this class the pf. plur. would also appear to have been derived from the reduplicated form; i. e., *nēmum*, *bērum*, &c., are for *\*nenmum* (*ne-n'm-um*), *\*bebrum* (*be-b'r-um*), &c.; where *nm* (*n'm*), &c., are the weakest forms of the roots (cf. *gm*, *bhr*, in Skt. *ḡa-gm-ús*, *ba-bhr-má*, § 23 (3)). But in § 80 we shall meet with two old pret. plurals, *munum* and *skulum*, from which the reduplication must have vanished, while in the

<sup>5</sup> This example suggests that if the Teut. had taken over *\*sezd-*, it would have become *\*sest-*, not *sēt-*.

radical syllables the sonant values appear in full (*un, ul*), instead of being reduced to consonants, as they would have been in *\*mēnum, \*skēlum*. This difference is strongly in favour of the former coexistence of duplicate varieties of the perf. pl.,—say, *ne-n'm-un* by *n'num-un*, *me-m'n-un* by *m'mun-un*, or the like<sup>6</sup>. (See § 23 (3), and note <sup>2</sup> to § 17.)

(4) In the case of the verbs whose high-tone roots involve *i (=e) + sonant + mute*, we resume complete regularity. Examples :

{	<i>bind-a</i>	<i>band</i>	<i>bund-un</i>	<i>bund-ana-</i> ,
	I bind	I bound	we bound	bound (bounden);
{	<i>waúrþ-a</i>	<i>warþ</i>	<i>waúrþ-un</i>	<i>waúrþ-ana-</i> ,
	I become	I became	we became	become;
{	<i>hílp-a</i>	<i>halp</i>	<i>hulp-un</i>	<i>hulp-ana-</i> ,
	I help	I helped	we helped	helped (holpen);

(an *m*-form occurs only in the 3 p. pret. sing. *ana-tramp*, of *\*ana-trimp-an*, “to press upon,” or “crowd about”). In these verbs the *un, aúr, ul* of the 3rd and 4th forms are the correct representatives of prim. *n, r, l*. But in two or three verbs the sonant of the root preceded the vowel (cf. *brika* in (3) above); and (although only present tenses are extant in Go.) they must have shown series like the following :—

{	<i>þriska</i>	<i>þrask</i>	<i>þrusk-un</i>	<i>þrusk-ana-</i> ,
	I thresh	I threshed	we threshed	threshed.

(5) The four preceding subsections embrace all the Ablaut verbs whose roots embody *i (=e)* either alone or in combination. Now, and lastly, come those with radical *a* (A); in all of which this vowel is followed by a single consonant. *a* appears in the present tense and in the past ptc. ; but the deep-tone *ō* has permeated the whole of the pret. from the pret. sing., to which alone it must have originally belonged. Examples :

{	<i>swar-a</i>	<i>swōr</i>	<i>swōr-un</i>	<i>swar-ana-</i> ,
	I swear	I swore	we swore	sworn;
{	<i>wak-a</i>	<i>wōk</i>	<i>wōk-un</i>	<i>wak-ana-</i> ,
	I a-wake	I a-woke	we a-woke	a-woke.

<sup>6</sup> The passive ptcps., *numana-, stulana-, &c.*, are strictly correct, as these adjectival forms never had the reduplication, and could not have become *\*nēmana-, &c.*, except by assimilation to the perfect plural.

Seven verbs of this class take the formative suffix *-ja* in the present tense, on this pattern :—

{	<i>wahs-ja</i>	<i>wōhs</i>	<i>wōhs-ana</i>	<i>wahs-ana-</i>
{	I grow (O.E., wax)	I grew (O.E., wox)	we grew	grown.

This vowel-series is difficult to account for. It looks like a variation from the series *ā, ō, a*. So De Saussure thinks (Mém. 160–163); and, taking up certain conclusions of Curtius, he further thinks it likely that the root in *ā* was shifted to the present tense from the old simple aorist (afterwards lost in Teut.) to which it belonged.

(6) *Summary*.—The following may be taken, for future reference, as representatives of the various classes of Ablaut verbs in Gothic :—

(i)	<i>giba</i>	<i>gaf</i>	<i>gēbum</i>	<i>gibana-</i> ;
(ii)	<i>nima</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>nēmum</i>	<i>numana-</i> ;
(iii)	<i>binda</i>	<i>band</i>	<i>bundum</i>	<i>bandana-</i> ;
(iv)	<i>beita</i>	<i>bait</i>	<i>bitum</i>	<i>bitana-</i> ;
(v)	<i>biuga</i>	<i>baug</i>	<i>bugum</i>	<i>bugana-</i> ;
(vi)	<i>waka</i>	<i>wōk</i>	<i>wōkum</i>	<i>wakana-</i> ;

and, of these, (i), (ii), and (iii) show varieties of one and the same series, evolved by the differing treatment of the pret. plur. and of the past ptc.

25. *Reduplicating Verbs*.—In these, the reduplicating syllable of the old perfect is, in Gothic, formed by the initial consonant (if there is one) of the root,—or the initial cluster, if conceived of as a simple sound (as *sk, st, hw, hl*<sup>1</sup>)—plus the vowel *ai*=*ē* (=Grk. *ε*). If the initial of the root is a vowel or diphthong, the reduplication is *ai* only. (The past ptc. does not show reduplication : see note <sup>6</sup> to § 24.)

(1) In classifying the Reduplicating verbs it will be convenient to pass from the *a*-series, given in (vi) above, to the *a*-diphthongs, vowel and sonant. These all persist through-

<sup>1</sup> But Osthoff (PBB. VIII. 540+) has concluded that the *s*-clusters, at any rate, are *not* prim. for the redupl. syll.; and that this syll. once showed *s* only.

out the verb-scheme, and may therefore be treated together as a single subdivision of this class of verbs. Examples :

1 p. s. pres.	1 p. s. pret.	1 p. pl. pret.	Stem of ptcip.
{ <i>hait-a</i> I call	<i>hai-hait</i> I called	<i>hai-hait-um</i> we called	<i>hait-ana-</i> , called ;
{ <i>auk-a</i> I augment	<i>ai-auk</i> I augmented	<i>ai-auk-um</i> we augmented	<i>auk-ana-</i> , augmented ;
{ <i>bland-a</i> I blend (mix)	<i>bai-bland</i> I blended	<i>bai-bland-um</i> we blended	<i>bland-ana-</i> , blended ;
{ <i>hald-a</i> I hold	<i>hai-hald</i> I held	<i>hai-hald-um</i> we held	<i>hald-ana-</i> , held (holden).

(2) The other subdivision (a small one) of reduplicating verbs comprises those with radical *ē* and those with radical *ō*, which vowels should respectively correspond to prim. *ē* and *ā* (Ā). In the roots of all the Gothic *ē*-verbs proper this vowel is followed by a single mute. Example :

{ <i>lēt-a</i> I let, allow	<i>lai-lōt</i> I let, allowed	<i>lai-lōt-um</i> we let, &c.	<i>lēt-ana-</i> , let.
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In the following verb the *ē*-root appears in the whole conjugation, having probably spread from the present tense :—

{ <i>slēp-a</i> I sleep	<i>saí-slēp</i> I slept	<i>saí-slēp-um</i> we slept	<i>slēp-ana-</i> , slept.
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Three other verbs, *saian*, “to sow,” *waian*, “to blow,” and *laian*, “to revile” (or, at least, two of the three<sup>2</sup>) are from *ē*-roots,—*sē*-, “sow,” *wē*-, “blow” (? *lē*-, “bawl,” ∴ “scold”). The present tense (*saia*, “I sow,” &c.) is generally given as a modification of *\*sēja*, &c., so that *ai* would be for *ēj*. But it may perhaps be a *ja*-tense correctly formed upon *sa*-, &c., the Go. weak grade of *sē*, &c. (cf. *wahs-ja*, § 24 (5), and also § 26 (1, iii)) ; to which the past ptcip. must then be assumed to have been assimilated<sup>3</sup>. The main parts of *saian* are :

{ <i>saia</i> I sow	<i>saí-sō</i> I sowed	<i>saí-sō-um</i> we sowed	<i>sai-ana-</i> , sown.
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<sup>2</sup> *Laian* is thought to have been attracted from the *a*- (=A-) verbs (§24 (5)), which have the same deep-tone *ō*. As to the others, cf. *ση* in *ἡμι*, i. e. *σι-ση-μι*, and *φη* in *ἄμι*, i. e. *ἀ-φη-μι*.

<sup>3</sup> The Grk. shows the expected *ε* in the wk. grades (*ἐ-ρός*=*\*ε-ρός* ; and ptcip *ἀετ-*=*\*a-φετ-*), which is correctly reproduced in Lat. *vent-o-*, and in Go. *wind-a-* ; yet the Lat. shows *a* in *sa-tus*. This variation, *a~e*, is perplexing : it corresponds, however, with the Teut. variation *ā~ē*, and perhaps also implies an intermediate *æ* (See note <sup>1</sup> to § 21). [Fick also, BB. IX. 316, treats the *a* of *saia* as wk. grade to *ē*.]

Two reduplicating verbs in Gothic show a radical *ō* throughout; and of only one of these is the preterite (perf.) preserved, viz. :—

{ <i>hwōp-a</i>	<i>hwaí-hwōp</i>	<i>hwaí-hwōp-un</i>	* <i>hwōp-ana-</i>
{ I boast	I boasted	we boasted	boasted.

The vowel-perturbation here is the reverse of that in *slōpa*, above.

(3) The series of representative Strong verbs (§ 24 (6)) may now be completed as follows :—

(vii)	<i>haita</i>	<i>haíhait</i>	<i>haíhaitum</i>	<i>haitana-</i> ;
(viii)	<i>auka</i>	<i>aíauk</i>	<i>aíaukum</i>	<i>aukana-</i> ;
(ix)	<i>halda</i>	<i>haíhald</i>	<i>haíhaldum</i>	<i>haldana-</i> ;
(x)	<i>lēta</i>	<i>laílōt</i>	<i>laílōtum</i>	<i>lētana-</i> ;
(xi)	<i>saia</i>	<i>saísō</i>	<i>saísōum</i>	<i>saiana-</i> ;
(xii)	<i>hwōpa</i>	<i>hwaíhwōp</i>	<i>hwaíhwōpum</i>	<i>hwōpana-</i> .

26. The tabulation of § 22 (2) shows that two, three, or more vowel-sounds of diverse origin and history have in many instances become identical in Gothic. It may now be convenient, therefore, to consider the individual Gothic vowels with special reference to the various older sounds that have coalesced in each of them. For this purpose they may be arranged in the following order :—*a*, *ā*, *ē*, *ō* ;—*ai*, *ei*, *i* (*ai*) ;—*au*, *iū*, *u* (*aiū*), *ū* ;—and reference will be made, as occasion arises, to positions in which any of them are known to occur outside of the strong-verb system. But it will be necessary to confine our observation for the present chiefly to the vowels of radical syllables.

(1, i) *a* = prim. *ō* occurs in the pret. sing. indic. of the ablaut verbs of classes (i), (ii), (iii)<sup>1</sup> ;—in substantives immediately related to such verbs (as *dranka-* (neut.), “drink,” vb. *drinkan* ; *sangwi-* (masc.), “a song,” vb. *singwan*) ;—in secondary verbs similarly related (*drankjan*, “cause to drink” ; *satjan*, “set,” or “cause to sit,” &c.) ;—and in many detached words (*naht-* (f.) = Lat. *noct-*, “night” ; *ahtau* = Lat. *octo*, “eight” ; &c.).

(ii) *a* = prim. *a* (A) occurs in root-syllable of present tense and past ptp. of ablaut verbs of class (vi)<sup>1</sup> ;—throughout the

<sup>1</sup> The references are to §§ 24 (6), 25 (3), and 71-78.

reduplicating verbs of class (ix);—and in many detached words (*akra-* (m.) = ἄγρο-, Lat. *agro-*, “field, acre”; *tagra-* (n.) = δακρυ-, L. *lacrimā-*, “tear”; *alja-* = ἄλλο- for \**aljo-* = L. *alio-*, “other”; &c.).—In some instances (See § 78 (5) below) *ǣ*=*ö* seems to have been taken for *ǣ* = *ā*.—For *ǣ* (= *ā*) as a weak form of stem-suffix *-ō* (= *ā*) in the N. & A. s. of fem. substantives, see § 35 (2).

(iii) *a* sometimes also stands as weak grade to *ē*; as in *latjan*, “to let = hinder, delay,” by *letan*, “to let = allow, permit”; and perhaps in *saian*, “to sow,” √*sē* (§ 25 (2) and note <sup>3</sup>).—For suffixal examples compare (abl.=) dat. sing. masc. <sup>2</sup> of simple interrog. pron. *hwamma*, “to whom,” with the compound *hwammēh*, “to each”; so also 3 p. s. of weak preterite *nasida*, “he saved,” &c., is probably for *nasidē* <sup>3</sup>.

(2) *ā*, except in borrowed words, is secondary or non-primitive. In the only certain Gothic instances it occurs for the cluster *an* before *h*; as in the root-syllable of some reduplicating verbs of class (ix), viz. *fāha* for \**fanha*, “I seize,” pret. *faiḥāh*; *hāha*, for \**hanha*, “I hang,” pret. *haiḥāh*;—also in the mixed preterites (§ 80 (3)) *þāhta*, “I thought”; *brāhta*, “I brought,” for \**panhta*, \**branhta*;—in the fem. subst. (occurring only in compounds) *-gāhti-*, “a going,” related to *gangan*, “to go”; and a few other instances.—In certain borrowed words (*Peilātus*, *Silbānus*, *aurāli* = Lat. *orāle*, and others) the *a* must also be considered long.

(3, i) *ē* = prim. *ē* occurs in the present and in the ptep. of a few redupl. vbs. (class (x)) ;—in substs. immediately related thereto (*slēpa-* (m.), “sleep”);—in substs. immediately related to the *ai*-verbs of class (xi); as: *sēdi-* (f.), “seed,” vb. *saian*; *dēdi-*, “deed,” which implies a vb. \**daian*, “to do”; *nēþlō-* (f.), “needle,” which implies a vb. \**naian* = Lat. *nēre*;—and in various detached words; as *mēnan-*, “moon,” = *μηνᾶ-*, and the related *mēnōþ*, “month” = *μῆν*; and others.

(ii) *ē* is the long of the *i-* (= *ě-*) series in: *wega-* (m.), “a wave,” vb. *wigan*, “to move”; *uz-etan-* (m.), “manger,” vb. *itan*; *anda-nēmi-* (adj.), “acceptable,” vb. *niman*;—in *quēni-*, “wife” (by *quinōn*, “woman”);—and in the pret. plur. &c. of the *giba-* verbs (§ 24 (2)).

(iii) In the Go. remains *ē* sometimes appears for *ei* (= *ī*) and *ei* for *ē*; rarely, *ē* appears even for *i* and *i* for *ē*; as: *akē*, “but,” for *akei*, but *aflēitan* for *aflētan*; *usdrēbi* for *usdribi*, “he would drive out,” but *birusjōs* for *bērusjōs*, “parents.”

<sup>2</sup> Paul, in Beitr. II. 339+.

<sup>3</sup> Sievers, PBB. IX. 561+; see also § 81 below.

These interchanges of spelling show that  $\bar{e}$  was moving on towards  $\bar{i}$  ( $\check{i}$ ), parallel with the movement of  $\check{e}$  to  $\check{i}$ : and the spelling of Gothic names in the later Latin historians shows that  $\bar{i}$  ( $\check{i}$ ) was afterwards reached; thus in *Widimír*, *Walamír*, *Frigerid*, *-mír* and *-rid* were originally *-mēr* and *-rēd*.

(4, i)  $\bar{o}$  = prim.  $\bar{o}$ , deep-tone to  $\bar{e}$ , occurs in the preterite of reduplicating verbs of classes (x) and (xi); also in substantives and secondary verbs immediately related to such verbs: as in *dōma-* (m.), "judgment, doom," and *dōmjan*, "to judge," probably related to *\*daian* (See (3) above), Teut. *\*dē-* or *\*da-jan*,  $\sqrt{dē} = \theta\eta$  (in  $\tau\acute{\iota}\text{-}\theta\eta\text{-}\mu\iota$ ).

(ii)  $\bar{o}$ , Teut. deep-tone to  $a$  (=  $\bar{a}$ , for  $\bar{A}$ ?) occurs in the strong verbs of class (vi);—also in nouns and secondary verbs immediately related to them; as: *grōbō-* (f.), "ditch," vb. *graban*, "to dig"; *frōda-* (adj.), "wise," vb. *frapjan*, "to understand"; (*uf-*) *hlōhjan*, "to make laugh," from *hlahjan*, "to laugh."

(iii)  $\bar{o}$  = prim.  $\bar{a}$  ( $\bar{A}$ ); as in the present tense and the past ptep. of reduplicating verbs of class (xii);—also in the related substantives; as: *hwōftuljō-* (f.), "boasting," vb. *hwōpan*;—and in other words; as: *brōþar*, "brother," =  $\phi\rho\bar{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho$  ("clansman"); *bōkō-* (f.), "letter," in plur. "book," originally, "beech," =  $\phi\eta\gamma\omicron-$  (for  $\phi\bar{\alpha}\gamma\omicron-$ ), Lat. *jāgo-*; and probably in the masc. acc. *hwanōh*, "each man"; *ainhwar-janōh*, "every one," &c., by the simpler *hwana*, &c. (§ 35 (2));—also in the borrowed and Gothicized word *Rumōneis* = "Romāni."

(iv)  $\bar{o}$  = prim.  $\bar{o}$ , the long of  $\check{o}$  (deep-tone to  $\check{e}$ ); as in: *fōtu-*, "foot," cf. Grk.  $\pi\omicron\delta-$  by Lat. *ped-* (but  $\bar{o}$  also in Doric N. s.  $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ); and probably in: *fidwōr*, "four";—*weitwōds* (m.), "a witness," =  $\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  for  $*\text{f}\epsilon\iota\delta\text{f}\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ ;—*fidur-dōga-* and *ahtau-dōga-* (adjs.), "four-days-(old)," "eight-days-(old)," immediately from *daga-* (m.) "day," with  $e$ -root *dēg*, prim. *dhegh*, as in Lith. *degù*, "to burn, glow."

(v) Just as (§ 25 (2)) in the reduplicating verbs of class (xi),  $a(\check{i})$  appears as a debilitation of  $\bar{e}(j)$ , so also does  $a(u)$  appear as a debilitation of  $\bar{o}(w)$ , before a vowel; e. g.: *stōjan*, for *\*stōwjan*, "to judge," but pret. *stauida*; stem *tōja-* (n.), "work, deed," but N. & A. s. *taui*.—Similar is the  $au$  which renders Grk.  $\omega$  before a vowel in *Trauadai* (dat.), "in Troas," and *Nauei*, "Noah."

(vi) In Ulfilas  $\bar{o}$  sometimes occurs for  $\check{u}$  and  $\bar{u}$  for  $\bar{o}$ ; thus, N. pl. *sunjōs*, "sons," occurs for *sunjūs*, and *ōhteigō* for *ūhteigō* (adv.), "timely, in season"; but also 3 p. pl. pret. *ūhtēdun* for *ōhtēdun*, "they feared."

(5, i) *ai* = prim. *oi* stands as deep-tone to *ei* in the pret. sing. of the ablaut verbs of class (iv);—in substantives and secondary verbs immediately related to those verbs; as: *staigō-* (f.), “path,” vb. *steigan*, “to go, go up”; (*ur-*)*raisjan*, “to raise up,” causative to (*ur-*)*reisan*, “to arise”;—and in some detached words; as: *filu-faiha-* (adj.), “manifold,” where *faih-* = *ποικ-* in *ποικ-ίλος*, “variegated.”

(ii) *ai* = prim. *ai* (Αι), in the reduplicating verbs of class (vii);—also in related nouns; as: (*ga-*)*haita-* (n.), “a command”;—and in many other words; as: *haiha-* (adj.), “one-eyed,” = Lat. *caeco-*, for \**caico-*, “blind”; *gaiti-* (f.), “goat,” = L. *haedo-*, for \**haido-*, “kid”; &c.

(iii) *ai* sometimes results from the fusion of *a* (=A) and *i*, once separated; as in *mais* (adv.), “more,” for \**mahis*; *aiz-a-* (n.), “brass, copper,” for \**ajiza-* = Skt. *ājas-*, Lat. *aes*, *aeris*.

(iv) *ai* is sometimes due to the action of a suffixal *j*, or even of a conjoined palatal (§ 20), upon a radical *a*; as in *haila-* (adj.), “sound, whole,” for \**hal-ja-* = Skt. *kalja-* = Grk. *κᾱλο-* for \**καλjo-*; (*af-*)*aika*, “I renounce,” for \**akj-a*; cf. Skt. (perf. only) *āh-a*, Lat. *a-io* = \**ag-jo*. This effect is generally called “Epenthesis.”<sup>4</sup>

(v) For *a(i)* = *ē(j)*, see § 25 (2), and (1, iii) above.

(6, i) *ei* = prim. *ei* in the present of ablaut verbs of class (iv);—also in various other words; as: *weina-* (n.), “wine,” = Lat. *vīno-*, for \**weino-*; *weihsa-* (n.), “town, village,” = L. *vīco-*, for \**weico-*; (but the Grk. shows the deep-tone in these two instances,—*οἶνο-*, for *Foīvo-*; and *οἶκο-* for \**Foīko-*.)

(ii) *ei* = long *ī* (probably) before *r-* and *n-* suffixes; as in *skeiri-*, “clear”; *leina-* (n.), “linen”; *gulpeina-*, “golden”; and the like;—also (probably) before *h* in certain words, where it may have supplanted *in* (cf. *ā* for *an* in (2) above); as in *þreihan*, “to press upon, throng” (related to Germ. *dringen*); *leihta-*, “light” (opp. to “heavy”), for \**linhta-*, Teut. \**ienhta-*, for *leng-ta*; cf. *ἐ-λαχ-ύς* (*λαχ* for *ληχ*, weak to *λερχ*), Skt. *laghú* and *raghú* = prim. *rnghú-*.

(7, i) *i* = prim. *e* in the present tense of the ablaut verbs of classes (i), (ii), (iii);—in the past ptc. of class (i);—in various words immediately related to those vbs.; as: *ga-quissa-* (adj.), “consentaneous” from *quipan*, “to say”; *bidō-* (f.), “prayer,” from *bidjan*, “to pray”; *rinnōn-* (f.), “brook,” from *rinnan*, “to run”; and others;—also in

<sup>4</sup> J. Schmidt, “Vocalismus,” II. 474-482; and H. Möller, art. “Epenthese,” &c., in KZ., XXIV.



many words not traceable to any verb; as : *midja-* (adj.), "mid, middle," = Lat. *medio-*, Grk. Ep. μέσο- for \*μέθjo-, Skt. *mádhja-*; *sibun* for \**sibn*, "seven," = L. *septem*, Grk. ἑπτά for \**σεπτη*, Skt. *saptán*; *milip-*, "honey," = Grk. μέλιτ-.

(ii) *i* = prim. *ī*, the weak grade of the *ei*-series, in the pret. plur. and in the ptep. of the ablaut verbs of class (iv);—and in derivatives from such verbs; e. g. : *lipu-* (m.), "limb," from *leipān*, "to go"; *dis-skritnan*, "to be rent," from *dis-skreitan*, "to rend": but in some instances the original verb is not preserved; e. g. : *writa-* (m.), "a 'tittle,' a stroke of the pen," implies a verb \**wreitan*, our "write"; and *strika-* (m.), also="a 'tittle,' a stroke of the pen," Germ. *Strich*, similarly implies \**streikan*, = *ſtreichen*, "to strike or stroke."

(iii) *i* = prim. *i* also occurs in detached words; as : *fiska-* (m.) = Lat. *pisci-*; *widuwōn-*, "a widow" = L. *vidua-*, Skt. *vidhavā-*; *hi-* in *hi-ta*, "this," *hi-drē*, "hither," = Lat. *ci-* in *ci-s*, *ci-trā*.

(iv) For *I*, initial, = *J*, see § 10.

(v) For *i* as written for *ē* and *ē* for *i*, see (3, iii) above.

(8, i) *ai*, the *Brechung* or Refraction of *i*, is a variation of the latter vowel which appears (but not always or only) before *h* and *r*; as in : *baíra* for \**bira* = O. Teut. \**bēro* = Lat. *fero* = Grk. φέρω; *faihu*, "cattle, wealth," for \**fihu* = Teut. *fehu* = Lat. *pecu*; &c. Here *ai* = *i* = Teut. *e*; but it also stands for *i* in the weak grade of some verbs of the *ei*-series; e. g. : (pres. *ga-teiha*, "I tell, relate," 1 p. s. pret. *ga-taih* (*ai* diphth.), but) 1 p. pl. *ga-taihum* and ptep. stem *ga-taihana-*, for \**ga-tihum* and \**ga-tihana-*.

(ii) *ai* is for primitive *e* in the vowel of reduplicating syllables (§ 25 *init.*).

(iii) *ai* also occurs sometimes before other consonants than *h*, *r*; as in *waíla* (adv.), "well"; *baítra-* (adj.), "bitter"; *aiþpau* (conj.), "or"; and perhaps *jai-na-* (demonstr.), "he, yon" (jener). On the contrary, *i* appears (very exceptionally) unbroken in : *nih*, "nor," which is a comparatively late fusion of *ni*, "not," with the enclitic *uh* = Lat. *que*, "and" (See (11, vii) below);—*sihu*, "victory," which occurs once only, and as a gloss upon the equivalent *sigis* (in Cor. I. xv. 57), of which it is probably a by-form;—*þariha-* (adj.?), "unfulled or 'new' (cloth)," a very doubtful form, which also occurs once only (Matt. ix. 16), and may be a case of mis-spelling;—lastly, *hiri*, "come (thou) hither," with the plur. and dual *hirjip*, *hirjats*, which are three old imperatives (used like

δεῦρο, δεῦτε), related to *hēr*, "here"; in which words Brugman attributes the absence of refraction to the attraction, upon the first vowel, of the *i* (or *j*) that follows the *r*<sup>5</sup>.

(9, i) *au*=prim. *ou*, deep-tone to *iu* (= *eu*), occurs in the pret. sing. of ablaut verbs of class (v);—in nouns and secondary verbs immediately related to such verbs; as: *þlauha-* (m.), "flight," vb. *þliuhan*, "to flee"; *lausu-* (adj.), "loose, free from," and *lausjan*, "to loosen, set free," primary vb. (*fra-*)*liusan*, "to lose";—and in other words, which may or may not be actually traceable to *iu*-forms; as: *dauppan*, "to baptize, (dip)," akin to *diupa-* (adj.), "deep"; *ga-lauba-* (adj.), "costly," ak. to *liuba-* (adj.), "beloved" (compare our word "dear," in both senses); *sprautō* (adv.), "quickly," which implies a vb. *\*spriutan*=*īpriēþen*, "to sprout, spring"; *rauda-*, "red,"=Lat. *rūfo-* for *\*rouθo-* (but weak *✓* in Grk. (ē-) *ρυθ-ρο-*).

(ii) *au*=*Au* appears throughout the conjugation of the redupl. verbs of class (viii);—and in various detached words; as: *hauha-*, "high," akin to *kauka-* in *Cauca-sus*; *aus-an-*, "ear,"=Lat. *aur-i-* for *\*aus-i-*.

(iii) A radical *au* before a consonant becomes *aw* before a vowel; e. g.: 1 p. s. pres. *strauja*, "I strew," but pret. *strawida*, "I strewed"; N. s. m. *\*faus* (adj.), "a little," N. pl. *fawai*, "few,"=Lat. *pau-ci*.

(iv) But *au* appears before a vowel when *ōw* is radical (See (4, v) above);—and also in the verbs *bauan*, "to dwell"; *bnauan*, "to rub"; and *trauan*, "to be confident": this *au* answers to *ū* in cognate dialects; and may, as Paul suggests (Beitr. VII. 152+, VIII. 210+), have penetrated the present tense from other forms in which the *au* is correct.

(v) *au*, like *ai* (See (5) above) may arise from contraction; as in: *maujō-* for *\*magwjō-*, N. s. *mawi* for *\*magwi* (§ 32 (3, v)), "maid, damsel" (cf. the masc. *magu-*, "boy, servant");—or from epenthesis due to a *w*-suffix, or even to the labial element of a conjoined velar (§ 20); as: *augan-* (n.), "eye," for *\*agwa-n*<sup>6</sup> (cf. Lat. *ocu-lus* for *\*oquo-lus*); perhaps also in

<sup>5</sup> M.U. IV. 414-417.

<sup>6</sup> So H. Möller (KZ. XXIV. 436); but otherwise, and perhaps better, Osthoff (M.U. I. 115, note, and PBB. VIII. 262). Möller's first example of *u*-epenthesis—*kauri-* [or *kauru-*], said to be for *\*karwi*=Lat. *gravi-* for *\*garwi*=Grk. *βαρύ*=Skt. *gurū*—is doubtful: De Saussure (Mém. 266) and G. Meyer (Grk. Gram. 96) start from a prim. base *\*gṛ-ū-*; so that *ap*, *ar*, *ra*, *ur* are sonant values, and the Go. should then be *kauri-* [*kairu-*], i. e. *\*kuri-* [*kuru-*].

(bi-)saul-*jan*, "to (be-)sully," for \*-*salu-*jan** (cf. O.H.G. *salō*, "dirty").—H. Möller attributes a similar influence to the *b* in *haubid-a-*, "head," by Lat. *capit-is*.

(10, i) *iu*=*eu* occurs in present tenses of ablaut verbs of class (v);—and in many other words which may or may not imply such verbs; as: *friusa-* (n.), "frost" implying \**friusan*, "to freeze"; *diuza-* (n.), "wild beast"; *piuba-* (m.), "thief"; &c.

(ii) *iu* and *iw* often interchange in the course of inflexion; as: stem *triwa-* (n.), "staff, wood," nom. s. *triu*; so, *kniwa-*, *kniu* (n.), "knee"; *quiwa-* (=Lat. *vivo-* for \**qviwo-*), *quiws* (adj.), "living"; and *niuja-*, nom. s. *niujis*, implies an older and simpler \**niwa-*, \**ninus*, "new," =Grk. *véo-* for *véō-* (but Lat. *novo-*, with deep-tone).

(iii) *iu* results from contraction in *siuni-* (f.), "sight, vision," i. e., \**siwni-* for \**sigwni-*, from *saihw-an* (i. e., \**sihw-an*), "to see." (§ 32 (2) below.)

(iv) In one Go. verb of class (v)—(*ga-*)*lūkan*, "to close, shut"—*ū* appears in the present tense against *iu* in the other verbs of the class.

(11, i) *u*, the weak grade of the *iu*-series, appears in the pret. plur. &c. and in the ptp. of the ablaut verbs of class (v);—and in some nouns and secondary verbs immediately related to such verbs; e. g.: *ga-kusti-* (f.), "proof, experiment," vb. *ga-kiusan*, "to test, prove"; *juka-* (n.), "yoke," =Lat. *jugo*=Grk. *ζυγο-* for (δ)*jυγο-*, vb. *ζεύγ-νυμι*.

(ii) *u* is =a prim. *u* in various other words; as in *pu*=Lat. *tu*, Grk. *σύ*, "thou"; *ufar*=Skt. *upári*; &c.

(iii) *u*, in the combination *aúr* (for *ur*), *ru*, *ul*, *um*, *un*, is generally the evolved vowel of the (short) sonants *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*, especially in the ptp. of the ablaut verbs of class (ii), and in the pret. plur. &c. as well as the ptp. of those of class (iii);—it also appears in many nouns immediately connected with such verbs; as: *ga-brukō-* (f.), "a fragment," vb. *brikan*, "to break"; *swulta-* (m.), "death," vb. *swiltan*, "to die"; *and-numti-* (f.), "acceptance," vb. *niman*, "to take"; *ga-runs-* (f.), "a street, a market-place," vb. *ga-rinnan*, "to run or flock together";—and in many other words, which may or may not be so derived; as, *kun-ja-* (n.), "a race, generation"; *wulfa-* (m.), "wolf"; *guman-*, "man," =L. *hom-on-*; *sibun*<sup>7</sup> =*sep(t)em*; *niun*<sup>7</sup> =*novem*; *taihun*<sup>7</sup> =*decem*; *hunda-* =*cento-*; and others.

<sup>7</sup> On these three finals see § 35, note <sup>2</sup>.

(iv) Similar Gothic values appear for Skt. long sonants; as: *fulla-* (adj.) for \**fulna-*, "full," Li. *pl̥na-*, O.Sl. *pl̥nū*, = S. *pūr-ṇá-*, I-E. \**p̥r̥nó-*; *kunda-* (in compounds) = S. *g'ātá-*, L. *gnāto-*, I-E. \**g̃n̥tō-*. For the purposes of this book, therefore, the difference between *r* and *r̥*, &c., need not generally be taken into account\*.

(v) *u* is an important interrogative particle, attached to words as an enclitic; as: *uz-u himina was?*, "was-it from heaven?"

(vi) *u* may interchange with *w* in the course of derivation; e. g.: *skadu-* (m.), "a shadow," but *ufar-skadwjan*, "to over-shadow";—or it may appear as a compression of a cluster containing *w*; e. g.: *u*, in *junga-*, "young," and *jundō-*, "youth," is = *uwe* in \**juwēn-* (Lat. *juven-i-*, *juven-co-*, *juven-tut-*).

(vii) *u* in the enclitic conjunction *-uh* is probably of similar origin to the *u* in *augan-* (See (9, v) above); i. e., *-uh* = *-hw'* for \**-hwē* = Lat. *-que*, Grk. *τε*.

(viii) *u* is a debilitation of the cluster *wō* in *suti-*, "sweet," strong form \**swōti-* (*ō* = *ā*), = Lat. *suāvi-* for \**swādwi-*, Grk. *ῥδυ-* for \**σfādu-*, Skt. *swādu-*; and in *fidur-*, by *fidwōr*, "four" (in compounds; e. g., *fidur-falpa-* (adj.), "four-fold"). These *u*'s, however, are mostly given as long.

(ix) For *ō* as written for *u*, see (4, vi) above.

(x) *u* occurs also for *o*-mikron in Grk. words, where *au* might be expected, and indeed sometimes appears; e. g.: *diabulus* (and *diabaúlus*); *apaústulus* (and *apaístaúlus*).

(12, i) *au* is to *u* precisely what *ai* is to *i* (See (8) above), and appears under the same conditions; e. g.: before *r* in the pret. plur. and the ptp. of some vbs. of class (ii); as: *ga-taúrur*, "we destroyed," *ga-taúrana-*, "destroyed," and the subst. *ga-taúrpi-*, "destruction." Here *aúr* for *ur* = Teut. *or* = prim. *r*. But in the weak grade of some vbs. of the *iu-* (= *eu-*) series, the *u* for which *au* appears is the prim. vowel; as: *taúhum*, "we led," ptp. *taúhana-*, "led" (for \**tūhum*, \**tūhana-*), infin. *tiuh-an*. Other instances of *aúr* = \**or* = *r* are:—*baúrgi-* (f.), "city," vb. *baírgan*, "to protect"; *haúrna-* (n.), "horn," = Lat. *cornu-*; *paúrnu-* (m.), "thorn"; *maúrpra-* (n.), "murder," akin to Lat. *morti-*;—*aúh* = *ūh* in *saúhti-* (f.), "sickness," vb. *siukan*, "be sick"; *gadraúhti-* (m.), "soldier," vb. *driugan*, "to fight"; or, without related vbs., *daúhtar-* = *θυγατερ-* = Skt. *duhitar-*; *aúhsan-*, "ox," = Skt. *ukshan-*.

\* Osthoff treats *r̥*, *r̥*, &c., as primitive duplicates; see note <sup>2</sup> to § 17, and § 24 (3), above.

(ii) *aur* is probably = a long sonant in *faúra*, "before" (adv.) = Skt. *purā*; *kaúrna-* (n.), "corn," = Skt. *g'irná-*, Lat. *grāno-*; and perhaps *kaúru-*, "heavy," = Skt. *gurū-* (See notes <sup>6</sup> and <sup>8</sup>).

(iii) The *u* of the enclitic *-uh* is never refracted.

(iv) The occurrence of *au* for *u* before other letters than *h* and *r* is not demonstrable; but it is probable in *auftō* (adv.) for *uftō*, "perhaps"; and possible in *bi-saúljan*, "to defile," *bi-saúlnan*, "to be defiled" (But see (9, v) above).

(13, i) *ū* appears to be the long of the *iu*-series in a considerable number of words formed by recognized suffixes, especially by such as involve a sonant or spirant; e. g.: *skūrō-* (f.), "a storm (shower)"; *fūla-* (adj.), "foul" (but cf. Lat. *pū-tido-*); *rūma-* (m. subst. and adj.), "room, roomy"; *rūnō-* (f.), "a mystery, secret"; *hūsa-* (n.), "a house"; *þūsundjō-* (f.), "thousand"; *brūþi-* (f.), "daughter-in-law"; add *ūr-* (prefix) for *ūs-*, "out"; also *hlūtra-* (adj.), "clear, sincere"; *brūkjan*, pret. *brūhta*, "to use, enjoy"; *hrūkjan*, pret. *hrūkida*, "to crow"; *ūt*, "out"; and two or three other words.

(ii) *ū*, in the cluster *ūh*, indicates suppression of *n* (Compare *ā* in (2) above); as in *þūhta*, "it seemed," pret. to *þunkjan*; *hūhru-* (m.), "hunger"; *jūhizan-*, "younger," compar. of *junga-*, "young"; probably also in *ūht-wōn-*, "dawn, early morning," and some allied words, based on *unht-* for *uht-* = *ἀκτ-*, for *νκτ-*, in *ἀκτ-īv-*, "sunbeam" (or is it related to *naht*, *noct-*, "night"?).

(iii) It will have been seen, from some of the examples cited in (i), (ii), that the long *ū* is not subject to refraction before *r* or *h*.

(iv) For *ō* = *ū* and *ū* = *ō*, see (4, vi). It may here be added that *ū* always appears for *ō* in *Rūma*, *Rūmōneis* = *Rōma*, *Rōmāni*.

27. Turning to the "Consonants" (§§ 13, 14) we begin with those (the "Sonants") which, on the whole, approximate most nearly to the vowels,—and first of all with the Liquids (*r*, *l*).

(1, i) Gothic *r* is "primitive"; that is, it descends directly from, and corresponds to, *r* in the *Ursprache*<sup>1</sup>, as will appear from a comparison of the Gothic words in which it occurs

<sup>1</sup> But the converse does not hold: many prim. *r*'s became *l*'s in the separate languages (See (2) below).

with the equivalent words of related languages; as for example: Go. *rauda-*, "red" = Lat. *rūfo-* for *\*rouθo-* = Grk. ῥυθ-ρο- (with weak *✓*); I.-E. *✓. roudh*, wk. *rudh*;—*ar-jan*, to "plow," O.E. to "ear" = Lat. *ar-ūre* = Grk. ἀρ-οῦν;—*fidwōr*, "four" = Lat. *quatuor* = Grk. τεσσα-ρ-ες = Skt. *k'atvā-r-as*.

(ii) Any clear *mute + r* may form a cluster either initial or interior; and *s + tenuis + r* may form an initial cluster; e. g.: *akra-* (m.), "field" ("acre");—*hraini-*, "clean" (*rein*);—*grasa-* (n.), "grass";—*triwa-*, nom. s. *triu* (n.), "stave" ("tree");—*hwaþrō* (interrog. adv.), "whence";—*dreīban*, "to drive";—*friusa-* (n.), "frost";—*abra-*, "strong, violent";—(*dis-*)*skreitan*, "to rend";—*straujan*, "to strew";—*sprautō*, "quickly":—interior *str* may also appear in derivation; as in *gistra-* = *gis + tra-* = *yes-ter-* = Lat. *hes-ter-(no-)*; (but Go. *gistra-dagis* means "to-morrow");—*gilstra-* (n.), "tax, payment," for *\*gild-tra-*, from (*us-*) *gildan*, "to pay, repay." (See § 41 (4, xx).)

(iii) A "*velar*" + *r* apparently occurs once, and once only, in the word *qurammīþō-* (f.), "moisture" (which may be a mis-spelling for *kram-*).

(iv) A syllabic *r* frequently appears in Go., but always in a final syllable and as a result of the disappearance of an accompanying vowel; e. g.: stem *akra-* (m.), "field," Nom. s. *akrs*, Accus. *akr*;—stem *fingra-* (m.), "finger," N. s. *fingrs*, A. *fingr*;—stem *maúrþra-* (n.), "murder," N. s. *maúrþr*, A. *maúrþr*; and others. Such *r*'s, *l*'s, &c., may be called "new sonants."

(v) *rr* results from assimilation; as in *urreisan*, "to arise" = *uz* (for *us*) + *reisan*; *urrinnan*, "to go out or forth"; and the like; probably also in *faúrra* (adv.), "far, afar off," and *and-staúrran*, "to be angry at, murmur at,"—where, however, the derivation is uncertain.

(vi) Once the *s* (*z*) of *us* (*uz*) is assimilated to the initial *r* of a distinct word, viz., in *ur riquiza*, "out of darkness" (Cor. II. iv. 6).

(vii) For *aúr* = *\*or* = *ṛ*, the "old sonant," see § 26 (12).

(2, i) Gothic, like the other European languages, shows *l* in many places where the most ancient Aryan remains show *r*; e. g.: Go. *liuh-ada-* (n.), "light," *lauh-atjan*, "to enlighten," = Lat. *lūc-*, *lūc-ēre* (older *louc-*), &c., = Grk. λευκ-ός, λυχ-vo-; but Skt. *✓ruk'-* and *rok'-* (for *\*rauḥ'-*);—Go. *leiħw-*, *laiħw-*, *liħw-*, "lend" = L. *lingu-*, *liqu-*, "leave," = G. λειπ-, λουπ-, λιπ-; but Skt. *✓rik'-*, *rek'-* (for *\*raiḥ'-*);—Go. *hliu-man-* (m.), "hearing," cf. L. *clu-* in *clu-ēre*, G. κλύ-ω; but Skt.

✓*gru-*;—Go. *filu-* (Ger. *viel*) = Grk. *πολύ* = Skt. *purá*. But *l* is not uncommon in later Skt.; hence Go. *liuba-*, “dear, beloved,” root *liub*, *lub* (cf. L. *lub-et*, *lub-ūdōn-*, &c.) = Skt. *lubh-*;—Go. *kalda-* (Ger. *falt*), “cold,” akin to L. *gelido-*, Skt. *g'ala-*.

(ii) Clusters with *l* are : *kl*, *hl*, *gl*, ; *pl* ; *pl*, *fl*, *bl* ; *sl* ; *wl*. Examples : *klismōn-* (f.), “cymbal”;—*hlaiβα-* (m.), “loaf”;—*glit-munjan*, “to glisten”;—*pliuhan*, “to flee”;—*plinsjan*, “to dance”;—*flōdu-* (m.), “flood”;—*blinda-*, “blind”;—*slēpan*, “to sleep”;—*wlita-* (m.), “the face.”

(iii) *ll* results from assimilation ; as in : Go. *fulla-*, “full,” for \**fulna-* = Skt. *pūrṇá-*;—Go. *wullō-* (f.), “wool,” for \**wulnō-* = Lith. *wilna-*, Skt. *ūrnā-*;—Go. *filla-* (n.), “skin, (fell),” for \**filna-* = Lat. *pellī-* for \**pelni-* = Grk. *πέλλᾱ-*.—In *alla-*, “all,” *skillinga-* (m.), “shilling,” and two or three other words, the history of the duplication cannot be clearly traced.

(iv) A syllabic *l*, or “new sonant,” appears under precisely the same conditions as syllabic *r* ; thus : stem *tagla-* (n.), “a hair, (tail),” N. s. *tagl*, A. *tagl*;—stem *fugla-* (m.) “bird, (fowl),” N. s. *fugls*, A. *fugl*;—stem *stikla-* (m.) “cup,” N. s. *stikls*, A. *stikl*.

(v) It is frequently asserted that the *l* in *ainlif* and *twalif*, our “eleven, twelve,” is descended from the *l* of the prim. \**dek<sup>j</sup>m* = Lat. *decem*, Grk. *δέκα* : this is certainly not the case (See § 34 (2)).

(vi) For *ul* = \**ol* = *l*, the old sonant, see § 26 (11, iii).

28. The other division of the Sonants comprises the Nasals, *m*, *n*, and *n* = *n̄* or *ng*.

(1, i) Go. *m* is generally primitive. Examples : Go. *midja-*, “mid, middle” (adj.) = Lat. *medio-* = Grk. *μεσο-* for \**μεθjo-* = Skt. *mádhja-*;—Go. (*ga-*)*tamjan*, “to tame” = L. *domāre* = Skt. *dam-áyati*;—Go. *guman-*, “man” = L. *homon-*.

(ii) *m* is rarely = prim. *n* (or *ng*) ; as in *fimf*, “five,” (Lat. *quinque*, Grk. *πέντε*, &c.), the change being due to the change of the final velar into *f*. Sometimes perhaps such an *m* springs from a suffixal *n* which may have been transposed into the root ; as : *dumba-*, “dumb,” probably for \**dub-na-* ; the root of which appears, with a different form and meaning, in *dauba-*, “deaf.”<sup>1</sup>

(iii) *Sm* is the only initial cluster with *m* ; as in *smala-*, “small” ; *smiþan-*, “smith” ; and a few other words.

<sup>1</sup> Leo Meyer, G.S., §§ 209, 210.

(iv) *mm* results from assimilation; as in the datives *hwamma*, "to whom," for \**hwasma*=prim. abl. \**qosmēd*<sup>2</sup>; *þamma*, "to him, or to this," for \**þasma*=prim. abl. \**tosmēd*<sup>2</sup>; and words on the same model. In other instances the history of the gemination is not clear; as in *stamma-* (adj.), "stammering, stuttering"; *swamma-* (m.), "sponge" (Ger. *Schwamm*).

(v) *m* occurs syllabically, or as a new sonant, under the same conditions as *r* and *l*; e. g. : Go. *bagma-* (m.), "tree," N. s. *bagms*, A. *bagm*;—Go. *maiþma-* (m.), "gift," N. s. *maiþms*, A. *maiþm*.

(vi) For *um=m*, the old sonant, see § 26 (11, iii).

(2, i) Go. *n* is generally primitive; as in: *naht-* (f.), "night"=Lat. *noct*=Grk. *νυκτ*=Skt. *nakta-*;—*naman-* (n.), "name"=L. *nomen*=Gr. *ὀνομα-τ*=Skt. *nāman-*;—*anan*, "to breathe," akin to *ἄν-εμος*, Lat. *an-imus*; I-E. √*AN-*.

(ii) Initial clusters with *n* are *sn*, *hn*, *kn*, and (once only) *bn*; as in: *snaiwa-* (m.), "snow"; *hneiwan*, "to sink, decline"; *kniwa-* (n.), "knee"; and *bnauan*, "to rub, triturate" (for which, however, Holtzmann and others would read *bi-nauan*).

(iii) Interior *sn* appears, in derivation, for *d+n*, and once, it would seem (somewhat singularly), *zn* for *t+n*; as: *anabusni-* (f.), "a command," vb. *ana-biudan*, "to command"; and *us-beisnein-* (f.), "long-suffering," from *us-beidan*, "to await, endure"; but *anda-wleizna-* (n.), "the face," akin to *wlita-* (m.), "the face, form," and to the verb *wlaitōn*, "to look."

(iv) *n* also occurs syllabically, or as a new sonant; e. g. : *anabusni-* (f.) "a command," N. s. *anabusns*, A. *anabusn*;—*liugna-* (n.) "a lie," N. & A. s. *liugn*.

(v) *nn* may result from assimilation; as: *kinnu-* (f.), "cheek" (*chin*), for \**kenwu-* (*w* from obl. cases)=Grk. *γενυ-* (f.), Lat. *genu-* in *genu-inus*, Skt. *hānu-*;—*rinnan*, "to run, flow," probably for \**rīnwan*;—*brinnan* "to burn" (intrans.), perhaps for \**brēknan*, akin to *φλέγ-ειν*. In *kann* (§ 80 (1) below), *nn* may be =*n+n*, the old present \**kin-na* being supposed =Skt. *jānāmi* for \**jan-nāmi*<sup>3</sup>.

(vi) When *nn* is brought by inflexion before any mute or spirant (except *j*), one *n* disappears; e. g. : *kann*, "I know,"

<sup>2</sup> So Paul, Beitr. II. 339+ and Möller, VII. 489+. The older view made these datives=the Skt. datives *kāsmāi*, *tāsmāi*.

<sup>3</sup> J. Schmidt, KZ., XXV. 148.



*kant*, "thou knowest," *kunþa*, "I or he knew"; but *kamþjan*, "to make known."

(vii) For *un=n*, the old sonant, see § 26 (11, iii).

(3) *n=n̄*=our *ng* in *sing*, *sang*, &c., is a variation of the preceding "pure" *n*, as we may call it, effected by a following guttural: it is represented in Ulfilas by *g* or *gg* (§ 9 above). Examples: *stinguan*, "to knock or dash (against)"=Lat. *stinguere*, "to extinguish, (dash out?)" ;—*þankjan*, "to think, doubt,"=Old Lat. *tongere*, "to know";—*angru-*, "narrow, strait,"=L. *angu-sto-*. But when this *n* came before *h* it vanished<sup>4</sup>, leaving the preceding vowel long (See under *ā* and *ū* in § 26).

29. This and the next section will treat of the Gothic Spirants that descend from primitive spirants<sup>1</sup>; and firstly of the labial and palatal spirants *w* and *j* (=Engl. init. *y*). These are closely related to *ū*, *ū̄*, and *ī*, *ī̄* (§ 14), and are often called "semivowels"; but they must really be ranged with the narrowed sounds that approximate to complete stops<sup>2</sup>.

(1, i) *w* is a favorite sound in Gothic, and generally preserves its primitive place and value. Examples: Go. *winda-* (m.)=Eng. *wind*=Ger. *Wind*=Lat. *wento*-<sup>3</sup>;—Go. *wiga-* (m.)=E. *way*=Ger. *Weg*=L. *wiā-* (for \**wehā-*);—Go. *widuwōn*=E. *widow*=Ger. *Wittwe*=L. *widuā-*;—Go. *wait*=E. (I) *wot*=Ger. (ich) *weiß*=L. *widi*=Grk. *foīda*; and many more.

(ii) In the initial combinations *wr*, *wl*, the *w* is to be sounded; as in *wrikan*, "to persecute"; *wlita-* (m.), "the face"; &c.

(iii) Initial clusters, in which *w* is the second element, are *tw*, *þw*, *dw*, and *sw*; thus: Go. *twa*=Engl. *two*=Lat. *duo*=Grk. *duo-*;—Go. *swistar*<sup>4</sup>=E. *sister*=L. *soror* (for \**swesor*)=Skt. *swásar*; and others: but *þwahan*, "to wash," *þwairha-*, "angry," *þwastipō-* (f.), "safety," and *dwala-*, "foolish," with their derivatives, are the only instances with initial *þw* and *dw*.

<sup>4</sup> The English and other L.G. dialects carry on a similar suppression of the *n* before other spirants; e.g.: *tooth*, A-S. *tōð*=Go. *tunþu-*; *five*, A-S. *fif*=Go. *fimf*, Ger. *fünf*; *us*, A-S. *ūs*=Go. *uns*, *unsis*, Ger. *uns*.

<sup>1</sup> Thus distinguished from another group, that spring from primitive mutes (§ 31 below).

<sup>2</sup> In Sievers's system (See note <sup>2</sup> to § 14) the difference between the spirants *w*, *j*, the consonantal *u*, *i*, and the full vowels *u*, *i*, is carefully noted.

<sup>3</sup> I. e., *vento*; the Romans had but the one symbol *v* to render both *u* and *w*; and similarly *i* for both *i* and *j* (=y).

<sup>4</sup> Accretion of *t* within an Old Teut. base \**sweser*; just as in Teut. \**strauma-*, "stream," √*sreu*, Grk. *ῥέω*, "flow." (Brugman, Stud. IX. 394.)

(iv) *w* appears with a *quasi-syllabic* force in the final combinations *-tw*, *-dw*, which are inflexional varieties of the formative suffixes *-twa-*, *-dwa-*; e. g. : stem *waúrstwa-* (n.), "a work," N. & A. s. *waúrstw*;—stem *þiwadwa-* (n.), "bondage," N. & A. s. *þiwadw*.

(v) For the "velars," or rounded gutturals, *kw* (*qu*), *hw*, *gw*, see §§ 9, 20, 32. We here note that the tenuis and aspirate (or rather "spirant") may stand in all positions, the media only in the interior and final; as: *quēni-*, "woman, wife"; *riquiza-* (n.), "darkness"; *sanqu* (*sankw*), "(it) went down, sank"; *hwas?* "who?" *saiþwan*, "to see," *sahw*, "I saw"; *singwan*, "to sing"; &c. In the course of inflexion some of these might even come before another mute; as: 2 p. s. pret. *sahwt*, "thou sawest."

(vi) For the interchange of *aw*, *iw*, *w*, with *au*, *iu*, *u*, see § 26 (9), (10), (11). Exceptional are: the adj. Nom. sing. m. *lusiws*, "weak" (not *-ius*), and the vb. *us-skawjan*, "to make wary, be vigilant" (not *-aujan*). Further, *w* persists after a long vowel or a diphthong, and whether *in fine* or followed by *s*, *j*, or a vowel; as: N. & A. s. *fraiw*, Dat. *fraiwa* (n.), "seed"; N. *snaiws* (m.), "snow"; N. & A. *lēw* (n.), "occasion, opportunity," *lēwjan*, "to betray";—*w* also persists between a consonant and *j*; as *manwjan*, "to prepare"; *bandwjan*, "to make signs"; &c.

(vii) For *w*=Grk. upsilon, in *Daweid*, *Pawlus*, &c., see § 10 note<sup>2</sup>.

(viii) In a small series of words there is, before *w*, a remarkable accretion of a firm guttural media, represented by *gg*. This is probably due to some special affection of the *w*,—as perhaps a more marked "high-back" position, bordering on actual contact<sup>5</sup>. The accretion (*gg*) appears in similar instances in O.N.; but in W.Teut. the affected *w* evolves before itself only the vowel *u*. The Gothic instances are: *triggws*, "true" (with its derivatives *triggwaba*, "truly," and *triggwō-* (f.), "a covenant"), stem *triggwa-* for *\*triwa-*=O.N. adj. *tryggr* (for *-ggwr*), but O.H.G. *triwi* Mod. *triu*=A-S. *ge-treōw* (for *\*-treuw*), "true";—*bliggwan*, "to beat, scourge," for *\*bliwan*; O.H.G. *bliuwan*, Mod. *bläuen* (the Engl. has only the subst., "a blow");—*glaggwō* and *glaggwaba* (adv.), "perfectly, thoroughly";—*skuggwan-* (m.), "a glass, mirror." And perhaps Go. *bagma-* (m.), "tree," is also

<sup>5</sup> See Kögel in PBB. IX., 523+, compared with Kluge in QF. XXXII. 127-130. The phenomenon is similar to that in the French *guerre* against our *war*, *guise* against *wise* (= "manner"); Ital. *guastare*=Lat. *vastare* (i. e., *wast-*); Spanish *gwad* from Arabic *wad*, "river"; Keltic *gwin*=Lat. *winum*; and the like.

reduced from \**baggwma* = Ger. *Baum*, A-S. *beám*, our "beam" of wood.

(2, i) In the extant Gothic remains very few words begin with *j*; the commonest are: *juka-* (n.), "a yoke"; *junga-*, "young"; *jēra-*, "year."

(ii) Unlike *w, j* cannot stand *in fine*, but becomes *i*; as in those cases of *ja*-nouns (§ 48) from which the suffix-vowel *a* has vanished (stem *harja-* (m.), "host, army," A. s. *hari*; stem *kunja-* (n.), "race, generation," N. & A. s. *kuni*; &c.).

(iii) In the interior position *j* may follow either a vowel or a consonant, but it must always be followed by a vowel; as in *fijan*, "to hate"; *frijōn*, "to love"; &c.

(iv) *ai* becomes *aj* in *waja-*, "evil-" (in compounds) from *wai*, "woe!"; *aju-k-duþi-* (f.), "eternity," from a weak form of *aiwa-* (m.)<sup>6</sup>, "time, duration"; and probably *bajōþs*, "both," from the simpler masc. plur. *bai*.

(v) Numerous duplicate forms occur, one with and the other without *j* after an *i* (*fian* and *fijan*, "to hate"; *friōn* and *frijon*, "to love"; *saiiþ* and *saijþ*, "he sows"; *sium* and *sijum*, "we are"; &c.)

(vi) There is a similar variety in the transliteration of Grk. names; e. g.: *Maria* and *Marja* = *Mapía*; *Iskariōtes* & *-jōtes* = *Ἰσκαριώτης*.

(vii) Just as *gg* appears as an interior accretion before certain *w*'s (See (1, viii) above), so does *dd* before certain *j*'s, probably of some special quality. The instances are: *iddja*, "I or he went," for an older \**ija* = A-S. *eo-* in *eo-de*, "I, he went"; —*daddjan*, "to suckle," for \**dajan*; —*waddju-* (f.), "wall," for \**waju-*; —*twaddjē*, "of two," for \**twajē*, gen. of *twa-*, "two."<sup>7</sup> Parallel instances in O.N. show *gg* and not *dd*; as *veggr* (for *-ggj-r*), "wall"; *veggja*, "of two"; &c.<sup>8</sup>

30. Of the Gothic sibilants, or dental spirants, *s, z*, the former is either primitive or derived from a dental mute, the latter, although sometimes prim., is always derived from *s*.

<sup>6</sup> *aju-k-* by *aiwa-* like *fidu-r* by *fidwō-r* (§ 26 (11, viii)).

<sup>7</sup> See Kögel and Kluge, as before cited (note <sup>5</sup>); Holtzmann, Gram. I. 29; J. Schmidt in KZ. XXIII. 294; and, as to *iddja*, Möller in KZ. XXIV. 432. See also §§ 80, 81 below.

<sup>8</sup> Braune, in PBB. IX. 545-548, makes it probable that *gg* was the older cluster, and that in Gothic this strong palatal was moved a little further forward to the *d*-position. With a similar "parasitic" *d*, however, we are familiar in other quarters; as in Grk., where ζ (= *dz*) sometimes stands for *dj* = older *j*, — thus, ζυγο = \**ǵygo-*, for \**jygo-* = Lat. *jugo-*, Go. *juka-*, Engl. "yoke"; and the English *j* is itself phonetically = *dzh*, for *dj* from *j*, — thus, "just," i. e., *dzhust* (for \**djust*) = Fr. *juste*, i. e. *zhüst* = Lat. *justo-* (i. e. *yusto-*).

(1, i) The voiceless sibilant, *s*, may occur in any position ; *e. g.* : Go. *sibun*, "seven," = Lat. *septem* = Grk. *ἑπτὰ* (for \**σεπτὰ*) ;—Go. *sit-an*, "to sit" = Lat. *sed-ēre* = Grk. *ἔδ-* for \**σεδ-* (in *ἔζομαι*, i. e. *σέδ-ζομαι*) ;—Go. *sunus* (nom. s.), "son" = Skt. *sūnús*,  $\sqrt{su}$  (cf. Grk. *viós* for \**σν-ιός*) ;—Go. *hals-* (m.), "neck" = Ger. *ḥals* = Lat. *collo-* for \**colso-* ;—Go. *fiska-* (m.), "fish" = Lat. *pisci-*.

(ii) Favourite initial clusters are : *sk*, *skr*, *st*, *str*, *sp*, *spr*, *sm*, *sn*, *sl*, and *sw*. Examples : *skipa-* (n.), "ship" ;—(*dis-*) *skreitan*, "to rend, tear" ;—*steigan*, "to go up" ;—*straujan*, "to strew" ;—*spinnan*, "to spin" ;—*sprautō*, "quickly" ;—*smala-*, "small" ;—*snaiwa-* (m.), "snow" ;—*slēpan*, "to sleep" ;—*sweina-* (n.), "a swine."

(iii) *ss* may occur in composition ; as in *dis-skreitan*, "to rend asunder" ; *us-saihwan*, "to look up" ; but in the MSS. one *s*, in such instances, is sometimes dropt (*e. g.*, *ustōþ*, "he arose," pret. to *us-standan*). In most, perhaps all, other cases, *ss* springs from the fusion of two dental mutes ; thus : *wissa*, "I or he knew," is for \**wiþta* = \**wit-ta* = prim. *wid* "know" + a *dh-* or a *t-* suffix ;—*-quissi-* (f.), "saying" (in compds., as *waita-quissi-*, lit. "a well-saying," i. e., "blessing") = \**quiþ-ti-* = a prim. \**g<sub>w</sub>et-ti-* ; and similarly the adj. (*ga-*) *quissa-*, "consentaneous," = *quiþ-tá-* ; and others.—In some instances the origin of the cluster is not quite clear ; as in *knussjan*, "to kneel."<sup>1</sup>

(iv) For examples of *st* = dental + dental, see § 33 (1).—For *sn* = *d* + *n*, see § 28 (2, iii).

(2, i) The voiced sibilant *z*—except where it stands for Grk. *ζ* (*Zacharias*, &c.), or, rarely, *σ* (*praiþbytaírei*)—is always derived from an older *s*. Two or three instances of the kind are referable to the *Ursprache*<sup>2</sup> ; as to the rest, it has been shown by a remarkable investigation of Karl Verner's<sup>3</sup> that this sound-change, in Teutonic, is one of a group of related phenomena (§ 31 below) whose appearance depended upon the original position of the I.-E. acute accent ; but it must be added that, in respect of these phenomena, the Gothic, owing to special phonetic tendencies of its own (See (iv) below), recedes rather widely from the ideally correct Teutonic.

(ii) Verner's conclusions, as applied to the sibilants, may be summed up in these rules :—

(a) Primitive initial *s* always persisted in all the Teut.

<sup>1</sup> The clusters *ss* and *st* have been specially investigated by Kögel in PBB. VII. 171–201 ; but his conclusions should be checked by Kluge's in IX. 149+.

<sup>2</sup> Go. *mizdōn-*, *gazda-*, &c. (See § 33 (3, vi) below).

<sup>3</sup> KZ. XXIII. 97–130.

dialects; *e.g.*: Go. *sibun*, Engl. *seven*, H.G. *ſieben* = Lat. *septem*, Grk. *ἐπτά* for \**σепт* = Skt. *saptan* = prim. \**septm*.

(β) Primitive *interior* or *final* *s* persisted when it originally closed an accented syllable; that is, when it immediately followed a vowel which in primitive times bore the acute accent<sup>4</sup>; but

(γ) When it closed an unaccented syllable (the accent falling either on a preceding or a following syllable), it passed into *z*.

(iii) Thus (β): Teut. \**quiwás*<sup>5</sup> (N. s. adj.), "living, quick," = Lat. *vivus* for \**gwīwōs* = Skt. *g'ivás* = I.-E. \**g<sub>w</sub>īwōs*;—but (γ): Teut. \**quēniz* (N. s.), "a wife, woman," = Skt. *g'āni-*, Zd. *g'ēni* = prim. \**g<sub>w</sub>ēni(s)*.—So, in the infinitive, the accent was on the radical vowel; hence Teut. \**dreusan*, "to fall"; \**leusan*, "to lose"; \**keusan*, "to test, to choose"; but in the past ptp. the final or stem-vowel originally bore the accent; hence N. s. \**drūzaná-s*, "fallen," \**lūzaná-s*, "lost," \**kūzaná-s*, "tested, chosen"; and similarly the pret. 1 p. s. was \**dráus(a)*, \**káus(a)*, \**láus(a)*, "I fell, I chose, I lost"; but the 1 p. pl. \**druzum(é)*, \**kuzum(é)*, \**luzum(é)*, "we fell, we chose, we lost"; &c.

(iv) But in Gothic this differentiation was extensively abrogated by two special characteristics: (*a*), in the verb, a uniform consonantal root-skeleton—in the present instance that ending in *s*—was carried throughout the whole conjugation; and (*b*), not in the vb. but in other parts of speech, while the relaxed spirant (*z*) was for the most part correctly preserved in the interior, the intensive spirant (*s*) generally appears for it as soon as, in the course of inflexion, it assumes the final position.

(v) Thus, by (*a*), the skeletons *dr-s*, *k-s*, *l-s* have ousted *dr-z*, *k-z*, *l-z* from those forms of the verbs just now cited in which they originally appeared; so that not only are the infinitives of the form *driusan*, *kiusan*, (*fra*-)*liusan*, and the 1 p. s. pret., *draus*, *kaus*, *laus*, as before, but also the 1 p. pl. pret. became *drusum*, *kusum*, (*fra*-)*lusum*; and the past ptp. stem, *drusana-*, *kusana-*, *lusana-*.—By (*b*), while (*e.g.*) the stems *riqizā-* (n.), "darkness," *diuza-* (n.), "wild beast," *hatizā-* (n.), "hatred," and the like, occur correctly in the oblique

<sup>4</sup> We are here treating of *s* standing alone, *i.e.* uncombined with other consonants: in combination with the tenues (*sk*, &c., as in (1) above) *s* persists.

<sup>5</sup> The accentuation given in this and the following instances is that of the older stages of the common Teutonic; in the latest stage, that is, immediately before the dispersion of the Teutonic tribes, the general transference of the accent to the radical syllable (when it was not already there) must have been far advanced, if not completed.

cases, the N. & A. s. are (generally) *riquis*, *dius*, *hatis*, &c.; only in a few stray instances does *z* appear *in fine*; as: *riquiz* (twice); *aiz* (n.), "copper, money" (once); *mimz* (n.), "flesh" (once). A similar relationship obtains between the final *s* of comparative adverbs and the interior *z* of the comparative of adjectives; as: *mais* (adv.), "more," but *maizan-* (adj.), "greater";—*airis* (adv.), "sooner, long ago," but *airizan-* (adj.), "more ancient"; &c.: *z* in fact appears without exception in the compar. of adjs.,—*hardizan-*, "harder"; *alpizan-*, "older"; *frōdōzan-* "wiser"; &c., &c.—And so, in inflexion, a final *s* appears in Gothic endings in place of a Teutonic *z*; as: N. s. *wolfs* (m.), "wolf," and *daupus* (m.), "death," = Teut. \**wólfaz*, \**dáupuz*;—*nēhwis* (adv.), "nearer," = Teut. \**nēhwiz*;—*baírais*, "thou mayst bear," = Teut. \**bēraiz*; &c.

(vi) But when such instances are brought, in Gothic, before the vowel of an enclitic, the original *z*, which now closes an interior unaccented syllable, reappears; as: 2p. s. *wileis*, "thou wilt"; but *wileiz-u*, "wilt thou?" So also in the case of pronouns and prepositions; as: Go. *hwas* (Teut. \**hwaz*) = Lat. *quis*, "who"; but *hwazuh* = L. *quisque*, "each," gen. *hwizuh*, acc. pl. *hwanzuh*;—*is* = Lat. *is*, "he"; but *izei*, "who" (relative);—*us*, "out, up"; but *uz-uh-iddja*, "and he went up." (See § 85.)

(vii) The correspondence of interior *z* to final *s* in such instances as these, and those of (v) above, seems to have established in Gothic a sort of phonetic ratio to which even foreign names were adjusted; as: Nom. *Moses*, Gen. *Mosezis*; N. *Filippus*, G. (+ *uh*) = *Filippauz-uh*.

(viii) The passage of *s* to *z* took place along a line of sound-change which led on to *r*, and very often, in West Teut., to complete evanition *in fine*; e. g.: Teut. \**wólfaz*, \**dáupuz*, (Go. *wulfs*, *daupus*,) = O.N. *úlfr*, *dauðr*; but A-S. *wulf*, *deáð*; and O. and N.H.G. *wolf*, *tōd*.—As an example of *r* (= *z*) = *s* in the verb, we will cite the main parts of the A-S. equivalents of the Teut. \**dreusan*, \**freusan* ("to freeze"), \**keusan*, \**leusan* (See (iii) and (v) above); thus:

Inf.	1 p. s. pret.	1 p. pl. pret.	Ptcp. pass.
<i>dreósan</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>dreás</i>	<i>druron</i>	<i>droren</i> ;
<i>freósan</i>	<i>freás</i> (3 p. s.)		<i>froren</i> <sup>7</sup> ;
<i>ceósan</i>	<i>ceás</i>	<i>curon</i>	<i>coren</i> ;
( <i>for-</i> ) <i>leósan</i>	( <i>for-</i> ) <i>leás</i>	( <i>for-</i> ) <i>luron</i>	( <i>for-</i> ) <i>loren</i> <sup>8</sup> .

<sup>6</sup> The accent in these A-S. examples is the usual mark for a long vowel or diphthong: it happens here that the same syllables also bore the tonic accent.

<sup>7</sup> "The parching air burns *frore*": Milton, P.L. ii. 594.

<sup>8</sup> Our "*forlorn*."

The modern English, by form-assimilation, has expelled the *r*-stems, and has carried the skeleton in *s* (but sounded as *z*) throughout the conjugation (*freeze, froze, frozen,—choose, chose, chosen*): in the Germ. *frieren, frier, gefrieren,—verlieren, verlor, verloren*, on the other hand, the *r*-skeleton has ousted the *s*-stems.—In not a few other instances the non-Gothic dialects exhibit *r*=Teut. *z*, where the Gothic shows *s*, in all the forms of a word; *e.g.*: Engl. *ear*=A-S. *éaran-*, Germ. *Ōhr*=O.H.G. *ōra*=O.N. *eyra*; but Go. always *ausan-*;—O.Engl. *leren*=A-S. *lêran*, "to teach," Germ. *lehren*=O.H.G. *lêran*, O.N. *læra*; but Go. always *laisjan*.<sup>9</sup>

31. (1) There remain to be considered the sounds which may still, for convenience, be called "Mutes," although this term is no longer synonymous, as it was in the primitive system (§ 15), with "Close Sounds" or "Stops." Of the Gothic Mutes these four, *hw, h, þ, f*, are, as we have seen (§ 10), really spirants, and, except perhaps *h*, voiceless spirants; while, in the interior position, the Media *b*, and probably *d, g*, when flanked by vowels, are voiced spirants (say *b, ð, and ȝ*).

(2) But the historical relationship of the Gothic (and L.G. generally) to the Primitive Mute-system requires special attention; for the above-given voiceless *spirants* are found to represent prim. *tenuēs* and the few prim. *voiceless aspiratēs*<sup>1</sup>, while the *mediæ* for the most part represent prim. *aspiratæ*, and the *tenuēs*, prim. *mediæ*. This relationship is designated by German scholars *Lautverschiebung*, or Sound-shifting. In the older Teutonic the correspondence of spirants, *mediæ*, and *tenuēs* to prim. *tenuēs*, *aspiratæ*, and *mediæ*, respectively, must have been almost exact,—the exceptions being found chiefly in the clusters *sk, st, sp, ht, ft* (See § 33 (1)), where the *tenuēs* are preserved as such by the conjoined voiceless spirants.

(3) But in the later stages of the common Teutonic a larger and more important class of exceptions was established, in which the prim. *tenuis* was represented by a voiced spirant (a still later *media*) instead of a voiceless spirant. This class

<sup>9</sup> This change of *s* to *r*, or "rhotacism," as it is called, is familiar to us in Latin, where, likewise, the intermediate stage was *z*. Thus, *Papirius* = \**Papizius* for *-sius*; *aurōra* = \**aurōza* for *ausōsa* (§ 5 *ad fin.*); G. *generis*, D. *generi*, &c. = \**genesis*, \**genesi* (cf. the N. s. *genus*). A *z*=Lat. *r* actually appears in the remains of the Oscan dialect; as in the ending of the fem. gen. pl. in *-azum*=Lat. *-arum*.

<sup>1</sup> That is, these aspirates are mostly treated in Teutonic in the same way as prim. *tenuēs*. See F. Kluge in KZ. XXVI. 88-92.

of exceptions is the main subject of the article by Verner referred to in § 30 (2) above; and he proves that these exceptions appear under precisely the same conditions as those under which Teut. *z* appears for prim. *s*; in other words, they depend upon the position of the primitive accent: so that, *mutatis mutandis*, the rules already given in treating of *z* for *s* apply here also; as follows:—

(a) The above-named Teut. spirants (= primitive *tenuēs*) remained unchanged in the initial position;

(β) In the interior and final positions these spirants remained unchanged when they severally closed a syllable which originally bore the accent; but

(γ) When they<sup>2</sup> severally closed an unaccented syllable (the primitive accent falling on a preceding or a following syllable), they passed into voiced spirants, and afterwards generally into *mediæ*.

Examples, (β): Teut. *\*broþer*, Go. *brōþar*, “brother” = Lat. *frāter* = Grk. *φράτερ* (“clansman”) = Skt. *bhrātar* = I-E. *\*bhrāter*—; but (γ): Teut. *\*fader*-, Go. *fadar*-,<sup>3</sup> “father,” = Lat. *pater* = Grk. *πατήρ* = Skt. *pitár* = I-E. *\*patér*—; and Teut. *\*mōder*-, (Go. *\*mōdar*-,<sup>3</sup>) “mother,” = Lat. *māter* = Grk. *μήτηρ* for *\*māter* = Skt. *mātár* = I-E. *\*māter*-.

(4) So in the verb: a final spirant of a radical syllable persisted when that syllable was originally accented; but in those parts of the verb that originally took the accent on the personal or other suffixes the spirant was first relaxed and then it passed into the corresponding *media*; and this difference was long maintained in all the old non-Gothic dialects.

Thus the phonetic ratios  $\frac{h}{g}$ ,  $\frac{p}{d}$ ,  $\frac{f}{b}$ , and  $\frac{s}{z}$ , were all (so to say) equal, as will appear from the following A-S. samples (which should be compared with those in § 30 (2, viii) above):—

Infinitive	1 p. s. pret.	1 p. pl. pret.	Past pteip.
{ Teut. <i>*wérþan</i> , “to become,”	<i>wárþ(a)</i>	<i>worðum(é)</i>	<i>worðaná-</i> ,
{ A-S. <i>weorþan</i> „	<i>wearþ</i>	<i>wurdon</i>	<i>worden</i> ;
{ Teut. <i>*snéiþan</i> , “to cut,”	<i>snáiþ(a)</i>	<i>snīðum(é)</i>	<i>snīðaná-</i> ,
{ A-S. <i>snēþan</i> , „	<i>snāþ</i>	<i>snīdon</i>	<i>snīden</i> ;
{ Teut. <i>*tēuhan</i> , “to lead,”	<i>tāuh(a)</i>	<i>tūgum(é)</i>	<i>tūganá-</i> ,
{ A-S. <i>teón</i> , “to tug,”	<i>teáh</i>	<i>tugon</i>	<i>togen</i> ;
{ Teut. <i>*sláhan</i> , “to strike,”	<i>slōh(a)</i>	<i>[slōgum(é)]</i>	<i>slazaná-</i> ,
{ A-S. <i>sleán</i> , “to slay,”	<i>slōh</i>	<i>slōgon</i>	<i>slagen</i> .

<sup>2</sup> That is, single or uncombined spirants, not in clusters like *ft* or *ht*.

<sup>3</sup> *Fadar* occurs only once (Gal. iv. 6); the current word is *atta*;—*\*mōdar* does not occur at all; the current word is *aiþei*.



In the latest stage of the common Teutonic the accent gradually settled upon the radical syllable (when it was not already there), both in the verb and in other parts of speech<sup>4</sup>; nevertheless the phonetic changes already established in virtue of the primitive accentuation remained unaffected<sup>5</sup>.

(5) In Gothic, however, the spirants were extensively restored, in conformity with the special characteristics of the dialect stated, for *s* (*z*), in (a) and (b) of § 30 (2, iv). Thus, by (a), in the verbs just cited, the skeletons of the strong roots, *w-rþ*, *t-h*, &c., were carried throughout the whole conjugation, giving, —*waúrþan*, *warþ*, *waúrþum*, *waúrþana*-; —*sneiþan*, *snaíþ*, *snipum*, *snipana*-; —*tiuhan*, *tauh*, *taúhum*, *taúhana*-; —*slahan*, *slōh*, *slōhum*, *slahana*-; and the like<sup>6</sup>. — Similarly, by (b), there is, in other parts of speech, a general correspondence between an *interior* media and a substituted spirant in the *final* position, both alone and also (as must now be added with reference to the dental and labial) *in combination with a final s*. But this general correspondence is, in the Gothic remains as we have them, interrupted by numerous exceptions; *e.g.*: stem *manasēdi*- (f.), "mankind, the world (of men)," nom. s. *manasēps* (but also *manaseds*), acc. *manasēp* (but also *manased*); stem *gamēlida*- (ptcp.), "written," N. s. neut. *gamēliþ* (but also *gamēlid*).

(6) Again, in the "personal suffixes" of the verb, in those forms in which, as the prim. accentuation shows, a final *d* must have appeared in the common Teutonic (as it actually continued to do in O.S.), there also the Go. generally gives *þ*: thus, the accent originally fell on the radical syllable in the 3 p. s. ind. act. (Skt. *bhāratī* = Grk. *fépei* for *\*fépeti*), 2 p. pl. (Skt. *bhāratha* = Grk. *fépete*), and 2 p. pl. imperative (Skt. *bhārata* = Grk. *fépete*); and similarly in the 2 p. pl. opt.: the later common Teut. form for all three persons was *\*bérið*, *✓bēr*, "bear"; and similarly *\*quēþið*, *\*sláhið*, &c.;

<sup>4</sup> This general rule does not take certain compounds into account (§§ 44, 85).

<sup>5</sup> It will be seen that the appearance of *g, d, z* for *h, þ, s* is due to the same accent-shifting as vowel-weakening (§§ 17, 21); so that, in Teutonic, the weak grades of roots ending in *h, þ, f, s* had a twofold characteristic,—a vocal and a consonantal. An extension, by Sievers, of this discovery of Verner's will be mentioned in § 32 (2, v) and (3, i).

<sup>6</sup> But traces of the "accentual differentiation," as it may be called, remain in 1 p. s. *þarf*, but 1 p. pl. *þaúrbum*; and in 1 p. s. *aíh*, but 1 p. pl. *aigum* (§ 80 *infra*). Moreover there is reason to believe that, contrary to the general rule, in a few Gothic verbs (*skaidan*, "to divide, separate"; *hwairban*, "to go, walk"; and (*af*)-*swairban*, "to wipe (off)," the *media* of the *weak* root has penetrated the whole conjugation. (See Paul, PBB. VI. 541+.)

but the Go. generally shows *baíri-þ*, *quiþi-þ*, *slahi-þ*, &c. : and only exceptionally *gebíd*, "he gives," *libaid*, "he lives," *drinkid*, "ye drink"; and the like.

(7) Corresponding to the instances in § 30 (2, vi, vii), there occur, alongside of the prepositions *af*, *uf* (which are also the regular prefix forms), *ab* and *ub* when followed by *u* or *uh*,—*ab-u*, *ub-uh*—; and corresponding to *Moses*, *Mosezis*, we find *Iōsēf*, dat. *Iōsēba*; \**Asaf* (= Ἀσάφ), gen. *Asabis*.

(8) The remarkable relationship between the primitive and the L.G. mutes (See (2) above), is to a great extent reproduced between the L.G. and the older H.G. mutes,—almost completely in the case of the Dentals (i.e. H.G. dental *spirants* or *affricatæ* answer to L.G. *tenues*; H.G. *mediæ* answer to L.G. *spirants*; and H.G. *tenues* answer to L.G. *mediæ*). In the case of the Gutturals and Labials, however, the H.G. answers to L.G. spirants with similar spirants (*h*, *f*); while in later H.G., *mediæ* generally appear in correspondence to L.G. *mediæ*. This less complete sound-shifting is often called, by German scholars, the second (as that described in (2) above is called the first) *Lautverschiebung*; and the two together are, in this country, popularly colligated under the designation of "Grimm's Law."

### 32. The Gutturals, or Velar and Palatal Mutes (See § 20).

(1) The *Tenues*:—Go. *qu* (*kw*) and *k*=H.G. *chw*, *qu* and *ch*, *k*=Prim. *g* and *g̊*. Examples:

(i) Go. *quiman*=A-S. (*cwiman*) *cuman*, "to come,"=O.H.G. *quēman*, Modern *kommen*=Lat. *venire* for \**gwemire*; prim. *√gem*, weak *gm*=Go. *qum-*, Grk. *βav-*;—Go. *quinōn-*, "woman,"=O.H.G. nom. s. *chwēnā*, *quinā*=Grk. *γυνή*, for \**γfavā* (cf. Bæot. *βavā*)=Skt. *gnā*, "goddess";—Go. *quēni-*, "wife, woman,"=Skt. *g'āni-*;—Go. *naquada* (adj.), "naked,"=H.G. *naft*=Lat. *nūdo-*, i. e. \**nowido-* for \**nogwido-*;—Go. *riquiza-*, "darkness,"=Grk. *ἐ-ρεβ-εσ-*, for \**e-peγf-eσ-*.

(ii) Go. *kinnu-* (f.), "cheek" (*chin*),=O.H.G. *chinni*, Mod. *kin*=*γενν-*, "under-jaw,"=Lat. *genu-*, in *genu-ino-*;—Go. *kaúrna-* (n.), "corn,"=O.H.G. *corn*, *chorn*, Mod. *korn*=Lat. *grāno-*=Slav. *zrīno*;—Go. *kniwa-* (n.), nom. *kniu*, "knee,"=*knīe*, O.H.G. *chniu*=Lat. *genu*, Grk. *γόνυ*=Skt. *-jnu* and *jānu*, Zd. *znu*, pl. *zanua*;—Go. *ik*=A-S. *ic*, O.E. *ich*, "I,"=H.G. *ich*=Lat. *egō*, Grk. *ἐγώ*=Lith. *asz*, O.Sl. *azŭ*.

(iii) It has been already said (§ 20 (6)), and it appears

from the foregoing, that the palato-gutturals stand as clear gutturals in Gothic; and so do also a *part* of the velar series, the labial affection having vanished. The latter therefore can only be discovered by comparison of Gothic words with those of cognate languages. Thus: Go. *kaúru-* = Skt. *guru-* = Grk. *βαρυ-* for *γβαρυ-* = Lat. *gravi-*, *i. e.* \**garwi-* for \**gwaru-i-*;—and Go. *juka-* (n.), “a yoke,” = H.G. *ζουχ-* = Lat. *jugo-*, Grk. *ζυγό-*, *i. e.* \**δζυγό-* for *ζυγό-* = Skt. *yugá-*.

(iv) F. Kluge<sup>1</sup> has made it probable that the appearance or disappearance of the labial element depended on the vowel that originally followed the velar: it was fully evolved before the high vowels (*i, e*), and vanished or tended to vanish before the low or back vowels (*a, o, u*)<sup>2</sup>. The inflexional suffixes of the verb contain vowels of both kinds: hence, in the O.Teut. conjugation the final velar element of the root would sometimes appear and sometimes vanish (*e. g.*: *√sinqu-*, 1 p. s. \**sinko*, “I sink,” but 2 & 3 p. s. \**sinquezi*, \**sinquedi*); while, afterwards, in the separate dialects, one or the other form of the root would prevail throughout. In Gothic the velar prevailed (*sinquan*, &c.); but in the W.Teut. dialects the clear guttural (*sinkan*, “sink,” *singan*, “sing,” *sehan*, “see”); and this is one of the distinguishing differences between E. and W.Teut.

(v) Go. *k* renders the Latin *c*, and Grk. *κ*, in borrowed words; as in *Karkara* = *carcer*; *kaisar* = *Cæsar*; *Krētes* = *Κρήτες*, “Cretans”;—often also the Grk. *χ*, as in *Kaúra-zein* = *Χοράζειν*, *arkangilus* = *ἀρχ-άγγελος*; although *X* = *χ* was also sometimes employed (§ 8 (2)).

(vi) *kk* occurs only in two words,—*sakku-* (m.), “sack, sackcloth,” = Lat. *sacco-*, Grk. *σάκκο-*; and *smakkan-*, “a fig,” which appears to be the same as the Slav. *smokwa*; but which language borrowed from the other is not clear.

(vii) *sk* frequently occurs (§ 30 (1));—*squ* occurs only in the rare words *ga-wrisquan*, “to bear fruit,” and *hnasquus* (adj.), “soft, delicate” O.E. *nesh*.

(2) The Spirants:—Go. *hw* and *h* = H.G. *hw*, *w*, *h*, *g* = Prim. *q* and *c*. Examples:

(i) Go. *ahwō-* (f.), “water, stream, flood,” = O.H.G. *ahō-* = Lat. *aquā-*;—Go. *hwa-s* (interrog. pron.), “who,” =

<sup>1</sup> Q.undF., XXXII. 42-46. The subject has been taken up and further worked out by Osthoff in PBB. VIII. 256-287.

<sup>2</sup> This is the reverse of what took place in Greek, where the labial element comes out strong before the back vowels (*ποι-νή*, *πό-τεpos*, &c.), while the high vowels often transform the guttural into a dental (*τεί-ω*, *τί-s*, &c.). See J. Schmidt in KZ. XXV. 135 +.

O.H.G. *hwër*, Mod. *wër* = Lat. *quo-*, *qui-* = Grk. *πο-* (for *κφο-*) in *πό-θεν*, &c. ;—Go. *hwaþara-*, “whether,” *i. e.*, “which of two,” = O.H.G. *hwëdar*, *wëdar* = Lat. *utero-*, for *\*cutero-*, *i. e.* *\*quotero-* = Grk. *πότερο-* for *\*κφότερο-* (but Ion. *κότερο-*) = Skt. *katara-*;—Go. *leihwan*, “to lend,” = Lat. *linquere*, Grk. *λείπ-ειν*.

(ii) Go. *hazjan* = A-S. *herian*, “to praise,” = Lat. *car-*, for *cas-*, in *car-men*, Skt. *ças-*, *çans-*;—Go. *hunda-* (m.), “hound, dog,” = O.H.G. *hunt*, Mod. *hund* = Lat. *cani-*, Grk. *κνον-* = Skt. *çvan-*;—Go. *hunda-* (n.), “hund-red,” = O.H.G. *-hunt*, Mod. *hund-ert* = Lat. *cento-*, Grk. *ἐκατό-* = Skt. *çata-*;—Go. *hairs-an-* (n.), “heart,” = H.G. *her-* = Lat. *cord-*, Grk. *καρδ-ία* = Lith. *szirdi-*; (but the last three from a weak base *crd-*);—Go. *faihu-* (n.), “riches” (orig. “cattle”), = A-S. *feoh* (Engl. *fee*) = O.H.G. *fihu*, Mod. *Vieh* = Lat. *pecu-* (whence, similarly, *pecu-nia*) = Skt. *paçu-*;—Go. *swaihran-*, “father-in-law,” = O.H.G. *swëhur* (Mod. *Schwieger-*) = Lat. *socero-*, for *\*swecero-* = Grk. *ἐκυρό-*, for *\*σφεκυρό-* = Skt. *çvácura-* = Lith. *szeszura-*; (the initials in Skt. and Lith. are due to assimilation);—Go. *taihun*, “ten,” = O.H.G. *zehan*, Mod. *zehn* = Lat. *decem*, Grk. *δέκα* = Lith. *deszim-*, Skt. *daçan-*.

(iii) By loss of the labial element a velar *h* becomes undistinguishable from a palatal; as in: Go. *haidu-* (m.), “manner, form,” = Skt. *ketú-*, prim. *\*qoitú-*;—Go. *hlifan*, “to steal,” = Lat. *clep-ere*, Grk. *κλεπ-τειν* = Slav. *√ klip*, *klop*; prim. initial, *q*?

(iv) By the accentual exception (“Verner’s law,” § 31 (3) +) *g* appears instead of *h*; as in: Go. *-tigu-*, “ten, -ty,” beside *taihun*, for *\*tihun*, Teut. *\*tehun*, “ten”;—Go. *tagra-*, “a tear,” = Lat. *lacru-ma* (for *\*dac-*) = Grk. *δάκρυ*. In the same way are to be explained: *fag-inōn*, “be glad,” beside *fah-ēdi-*, “gladness”; *fulg-ina-*, “hidden,” beside *filh-an*, “to hide”; *hung-rjan*, “to hunger” (impers.), beside *hūh-ru-* (m.), for *\*hunh-ru-*, “hunger”; and others similar. Also the numerous adjectives in *-ga-* = Lat. *-co-*, Grk. *-κό-*, beside others in *-ha-* (§ 40 (5, iv)).

(v) In the foregoing examples *g* for *h* is = prim. palatal (*c*). In the case of an interior velar (*gw* for *hw*) Sievers<sup>3</sup> has shown, as a corollary to Verner’s law, that the guttural element vanished, leaving only *w* (*u*); *e. g.*: *siuni-*, “sight, seeing,” is for *\*sigw-ní-*, from the root *sihw-* (= *sehw-*) of *saihwan*, “to see.”

<sup>3</sup> “Zur Accent- und Laut-lehre,” &c., PBB., V. 149; or in separate reprint: see also Paul, “Zum Vernerschen Gesetz,” Beitr. VI. 538+.

(vi) Apart from the preceding exceptions a radical *h* final generally persists when brought into the interior position; *e. g.*: Go. *hauha-*, "high," N. s. m. *hauhs*, dat. *hauhamma*; — Go. *haiha-*, "one-eyed," (cf. Lat. *caeco-*), N. s. *haihs*, D. *haihamma*.

(vii) Initial clusters with *h* (which must be sounded) are *hr*, *hl*, *hn*; as: *hrukjan*, "to crow"; *hlauta-* (m.), "lot"; *hnaiwa-* (adj.), "humble"; &c.

(viii) The interior cluster *hs* is = prim. *ks*; as in *auhsan-*, "ox," = Skt. *ukshán-*; *wahsjan*, "to grow," akin to *avξ-άvesθαι*; *taíhswan-* (adj.), "right(-hand)," = Lat. *dex-tero-*.

(ix) Excepting the *s(z)* of *us* before *r* (§ 27 (1, vi)), the *h* of the enclitic *uh* (and of *jah*, *nih*, and *nuh*, which embody *uh*) is the only consonant that undergoes assimilation (and that by no means regularly) to the initial consonant of a following word, especially to *p*; *e. g.*: *þan-uh* + *þan* may give *þanuþ-þan*, "and thereupon"; — *was-uh* + *þan* may give *wasuþ-þan*, "and he was"; — *in-uh* + *þis* may give *inuþ-þis*, "and on this account"; and many similar. Other noticeable instances are: *nis sijai* for *nih* + *sijai*, "be it not," = "God forbid"; — *jan ni* for *jah* + *ni*, "and not"; — *jag gatraua* for *jah* + *gatraua*, "and I am confident"; — *jas sō* for *jah* + *sō*, "and she"; — *hwa nuk kant* for *hwa* + *nuh* + *kant*, "and what then knowest thou?"; — *jal liban* for *jah* + *liban*, "and to live"; — also *jad du*, "and to . . ."; — *jam mundōþ*, "and consider ye"; and a few more.

(x) For the combination *ht* (= *kt*, &c.), see under *t*, § 33 below.

(xi) For the important equivalence, Teut. *f* = *hw* = prim. *q*, see under *f*, § 34 (2).

(3) The Mediæ:—Go. (*gw*) *w* and *g* = H.G. (*kw*) *w* and *k*, *g* = Prim. *gh<sub>w</sub>* and *gh<sup>i</sup>*. Examples:

(i) Go. *snaiwa-*, for \**snaigwa-* (m.), "snow"; cf. Lat. *nix*, *nivis*, for \*(*s*)*nighwis*, and Grk. *νιφο-* (in compounds) for (σ)*νιχφο-*; — Go. *gasti-* (m.), "stranger, guest," = Lat. *hosti-* = O.Slav. *gosti-*; Eur. base \**gh<sub>w</sub>osti-*. *Gw* = prim. *gh<sub>w</sub>* is unstable; and Sievers's corollary (See under *h* in (2, v) above) applies here also; as in *mawi* (N. s.), "girl, maiden," for \**magwī*, G. *maujōs* for \**magwjōs*: the masc. is *magu-s*, "boy, servant."

(ii) Go. *gardi-* (m.), "house," = A-S. *geard*, Engl. *yard*, = Lat. *horto-*; — Go. *gazda-* (m.), "a goad, sting," = A-S. *geard*, O.E. *yerde*, "a rod," (whence "yard" as a measure,) = Lat. *hastā-* for \**hasθā-*; — Go. (*us-*)*gildan*, "to (re-)pay," = A-S. *gieldan*, *gyldan*; but our *yield*; — Go. *giutan*, "to pour,"

= A-S. *geótan* = O.H.G. *giozan*, *kiozan*, Mod. *gießen*; cf. Lat. *fud-* in *fundere*, Grk. *χέω* for *χέφω*;—Go. *gistra(-dagis)*, “to-morrow” (a special meaning), = Engl. *yester(-day)* = Lat. *hester-no-*, extended from *hes-* in *hēri* for *\*hesi* = Grk. *χθες* for *\*χῆς*;—Go. *guman-*, “man,” = Lat. *homon-* = Lith. *žmon-*;—Go. *(bi-)laigon*, “to lick,” = H.G. *lecken* = Grk. *λείχειν*, Lat. *lingere* = Lith. *lež-*, Slav. *liz-*;—Go. *tung-ōn-* (f.), “tongue,” *ʒunge*, = Lat. *ling-uā-*, for *\*ding-wā-* = Lith. *lėz-ūvi-*; the *l* in Lat. and Lith. is probably due in each case (as Förstemann suggests) to a popular reference of the name for the tongue to the foregoing verb *lingo*, *ležiti*. In the Go. inseparable prefix, *ga-*, O.H.G. *ka-*, *ga-* = *ge-* = A-S. *ʒe-*, *g* is a palatal; *ʒe* in O.E. became *y*, which is still sometimes met with as *y* or *i*; as in: *yclept*, A-S. *ge-clypod*, “called”; *iwis*<sup>4</sup>, A-S. *ge-wis*, Ger. *ge-wiß*, “surely”; *handiwork* = A-S. *hand-geweorc*.

(iii) *g* (unlike *d* and *b*) persists in the final position and before *s*; apparently also before *t*; thus: *mag*, “I or he can,” *magt*, “thou canst”<sup>5</sup>; stem *wiga-* (m.), “a way,” N. s. *wigs*, A. *wig*.

(iv) Initial clusters are *gr* and *gl* only; as in *grēdaga-*, “hungry”; *glitmunjan*, “to glisten.”

(v) *g*, in the MSS., before *g*, *k*, denotes the gutturo-nasal *ṅ* (= *ng*).

(vi) For accretion of *gg* before *w*, see § 29 (1, viii).

### 33. The Dentals.

(1) The Go. Tenuis, *t* = H.G. *ʒ* (= *ts*), *ss* = Prim. *d*.

(i) Examples: Go. *tunþu-* (m.), “tooth,” = O.H.G. *zand*, Mod. *ʒahn* = Lat. *denti-*, Grk. *ὀ-δοντ-*, Skt. *dant-*, (but Go. shows weak vowel);—Go. *(ga-)tamjan*, “to tame,” = O.H.G. *zamjan*, Mod. *ʒähmen* = Lat. *dom-are*, Grk. *δαμ-ᾱν*, Skt. *dam-āyati*;—Go. *triwa-*, N. s. *triu* (n.), “a staff,” = A-S. *treow*, “tree” = G. *δρῦς*, Skt. *dru*;—Go. *twa-*, “two,” = *zwei* = L. *duo*, G. *δύο*, Skt. *dva*;—Go. *gaiti-* (f.), “goat,” = *Geiß* = L. *haedo-*, “kid”;—Go. *beit-an*, “to bite,” = *beißen* = L. *fi(n)d-ere*, “to split,” Skt. *bhid-*;—Go. *wit-an*, “to wit,” i. e. “know,” = *wissen* = L. *wid-ēre*, G. *ιδ-εῖν* (for *Fiδ-*), Skt. *vid-*;—Go. *fōtu-* (m.), “foot” = *Fuß* = L. *ped-*, G. *ποδ-*, Skt. *pad-*, *pād-*;—Go. *swarta-*, “black, swart (swarthy),” = *schwarz*; cf. L. *sord-ēre* for *\*sword-ēre*.

<sup>4</sup> Sometimes printed “*I wis*,” as if it were a pronoun and verb!

<sup>5</sup> This is, however, the only extant instance of its kind.

(ii) The favorite cluster *st* frequently occurs initially; as in *steigan*, "go, go up"; *staina-* (m.), "stone"; &c., &c.;— and in the interior position; as in *þaurstein-* (f.), "thirst"; *gramsta-* (m.), "a splinter"; *asta-*, "a branch," = *ὄζο-* for *\*ὄσ-δο-*; in which instances the Go. group results from *s* + a dental suffix; and so in many others, notably in the superlative of adjectives (*hauhis-ta-*, "highest," *armōs-ta-*, "most miserable"; &c.).

(iii) But the *s* itself may stand for a radical (Teut.) *t*, *d*, *p*, (=prim. *d*, *dh*, *t*); as in *gilstra-*, for *\*gild-tra-*, "a tax," from *gild-an*, "to pay"; 2 p. s. *waist*, "thou knowest" = Grk. *οἶσθα* for *\*foið-θα*; *quast*, "thou saidst," by *quiþ-an*; *warst*, "thou becamest," by *wairþ-an*; &c. The cluster *ss* is often a variety of the foregoing (See § 30 (1)).

(iv) Just as the cluster *st* may come from an older combination of *dental* + *t*, so the clusters *ht* and *ft* may come from præ-Teutonic combinations of *guttural* + *t* and *labial* + *t*; e. g.: *ahtau*, "eight," Ger. *aht* = Lat. *octo*, Grk. *ὀκτώ*;— *naht-* (f.), "night," Ger. *Nacht* = L. *noct-*, Gr. *νυκτ-*, Skt. *nakti*;— *rahta-*, "right," Ger. *recht* = L. *recto-*;— *flahtō-* (f.), "a plaiting"; cf. Lat. *plect-ere*;— *mahta-*, "able," probably = Lat. *macto-*;— *liuht-jan*, "to shine," probably = *λέυσσειν* for *\*λευκτ-jeiv*<sup>1</sup>;— *hafta-*, "held, bound," = L. *capto-*;— *hliftu-* (m.), "thief, (shop-)lifter," = G. *κλεπτᾶ-*. In these cases it would seem that the prim. *k* or *p* underwent the usual change into the Teut. hard or voiceless spirant, *h* or *f*, which then exercised the same "protection" over the conjoined *t* that *s* did,—i. e., prevented it from passing into *p*.

(v) *tt* occurs only in *attan-*, "father," and *skatta-* (m.), any "piece of money,"—both of doubtful derivation.

(2) The Go. Spirant *þ* = H.G. *d* = Prim. *t*.

(i) Examples: Go. *þat-a*, "that," = H.G. *daz*, *daß* = Lat. *-tud* (in *is-tud*), Grk. *τό-(δε)*, Skt. *tad*;—Go. *þu*, "thou," = *du* = L. *tu*, G. *σύ*, for *τύ*, O.Skt. *tu-am*;—Go. *þreis*, *þrija*, "three," = *dreī* = L. *tres*, *tria*, G. *τρεις*, *τρία*, Skt. (masc. nom.) *trayas*;—Go. *brōþar*, "brother," = *Bruder* = L. *frāter-*, G. *φρᾶτερ-*, Skt. *bhrātar-*;—Go. *wairþan* = A-S. *weorþan*, "to become," O.E. *worthe* = *werden* = L. *vert-ere*, Skt. *vart-*, "to go, turn," (cf. our idiom, "to turn into" = "become");—Go. *maurþra-*, "murder, murther," = *Mord* = L. *morti-*, Skt. *mṛti*, "death";—so also *þaprō*, "thence," is closely related to Skt. *tatra*, "there"; *raþjōn-* (f.), "number," to L. *ratiōn-*; *þragjan*, "to run," to G. *τρέχειν*; *þahan*, "to be silent,"

<sup>1</sup> Fick in BB. IX. 318.

to Lat. *tacēre*; *milip*, "honey," to Grk. *μελιτ*-; and many more.

(ii) Of some words, common in Teut., the classical equivalents are doubtful, or not to be found; thus: *þiuba-* (m.), "thief," = O.H.G. *diup*, Mod. *Dieb*; *þaúrpa-* (n.), "field, estate," = Engl. *thorp*, *Doerf*; *þaúrnu-* (m.), "thorn," = *Dorn*; *þriskan*, "to thresh," = *dreischen*; *aírþō-* (f.), "earth," = *Erde*; and others.

(iii) Examples of the accentual exception (*d* for *þ*=prim. *t*) are very numerous; as: *fidwōr*, "four," = Lat. *quatuor*, Skt. *k'atvār-as*;—*hardu-*, "hard," = *κρατύ*-<sup>2</sup>;—*hunda* (pl.), "hundreds," = O.H.G. *hunt*=L. *cent-um*, G. *ἐκατό-ν*, Skt. *śatá-*;—*undar*, "under," = *unter*=L. *inter*;—*haidu-*, "manner, form," = Engl. *-hood*, *-head*=*-heit*=Skt. *ketú-* for *\*kaitú-*, "appearance." As examples of verbal forms which regularly exhibit this exception may be mentioned the passive participle of weak verbs, and the remains of the passive (orig. middle) voice of all verbs; thus: *satida-*, "set, placed," = Skt. *saditá-*;—*tamida-*, "tamed," = Lat. *domito-*, Skt. *damitá-*; &c., &c. (but, generally (by § 31 (5)), the N. s. masc. (*tamiþs*, &c.) and the N. and A. s. neut. (*tamiþ*, &c.) show *þ*);—also the medio-passive 3 p. s. indic. *baírada*=Grk. *φέρεται*, Skt. *bhárate*; 3 p. s. subj. *baíraidau*=G. *φέρειτο*, Skt. *bháreta*; &c.: in short, wherever *d* appears regularly among verbal suffixes it represents prim. *t* (e.g., 3 p. pl. act. *baírand*=L. *ferunt*, G. *φέρουσι* (for *-οντι*), S. *bháranti*).

(iv) Apart from the exception just treated, Go. *þ* (= prim. *t*) maintains its value in the interior position; as: stem, *aíþa-* (m.), "oath," N. s. *aíþs*, G. *aíþis*, D. *aíþa*, &c. See also *brōþar*, *anþara-*, &c., above.

(v) For sibilation of *þ* before *t*, see (1) above.

(vi) For *þþ*=*h*+*þ*, see under *h*, in § 32 (2). In *aíþ-þau*, "or, or else," the origin of the first syllable is uncertain.

(vii) Initial clusters are: *þr*, *þl*, *þw*; as in *þragjan*, "to run"; *þliuhan*, "to flee"; *þwahan*, "to wash."

(3) The Gothic Media *d*=H.G. *t*, *d*=Prim. *dh* (Skt. *dh*, *d*; Grk. *θ*, *τ*; Lat. *f*, *b*, *d*).

(i) Examples: Go. *dauni-* (f.), "odour, savour," = O.H.G. *tun-ist*, Mod. *Dunst*=L. *fu-mo-*, akin to Grk. *θύ-ειν*, orig. "to burn incense" (the Engl. *dust* has diverged in meaning);—Go. *daúhtar*, "daughter," = *Τοchter*=G. *θυγατέρ*, Skt. *duhitar-*;—Go. *daúra-* (n.), "door," = *Thor*, *Tür*=L. (pl.) *for-es*, (adv.) *for-is*, *for-as* (*f*=*θ*, Skt. *dh*), G. *θύρᾱ-*, Skt.

<sup>2</sup> But *pa* (=r) is of different grade from the Teut. *ar*=*or*.



*dwāra* (for \**dhwāra*), weak *dur*;—Go. *dēdi*-, “*deed*,” = Lat. implies a prim. base \**dhē-ti*-, “*a doing, making*,” √ *dhē*-, “*place, put, make*,” = *θη-* in *τί-θη-μι*;—Go. *bindan*-, “*to bind*,” = O.H.G. *pintan*, Mod. *binden*; prim. √ *bhendh*, Skt. *bandh*-;—Go. *midja*- (adj.), “*mid*,” = Ger. (subst.) *Mitte* = L. *medio*-, G. (cpic) *μέσσο-*, for \**μεθjo-*, Skt. *madya*-;—Go. *rauda*-, “*red*,” = *rōt* = L. *rufo*- and *rubero*-, G. *ε-ρυθ-ρό-*, Skt. *rudh-ira*-;—Go. *widuwōn*-, “*widow*,” = O.H.G. *wituwā*, Mod. *Wittwe* = L. *viduā*-, Skt. *vidhavā*-;—Go. *waúrda*-(n.), “*word*,” = Wort = L. *verbo*- for \**werdho*-, √ *wer*-, “*speak*,” as in G. *ἐρ-εῖν* for \**ἑρ-εῖν*.

(ii) Of many words, very common in Teut., the classical equivalents are not discoverable; as: *danþa*-, “*death*,” = Tod; *diupa*-, “*deep*,” = tief; *drinkan*-, “*to drink*,” = trinken.

(iii) When an interior *d* preceded by a vowel is brought, in the course of inflexion, into the final position, alone or in combination with *s*, it generally passes into *þ*; as: (stem) *gōda*-, “*good*,” N. s. masc. *gofþs*, N. & A. s. neut. *gofþ*;—(ana-) *biudan*-, “*to bid*,” pret. 1 & 3 p. s. -*baufþ*; *bidjan*-, “*to pray*,” pret. 1 & 3 p. s. *baþ*; and the like. This rule holds, whether the *d* is = prim. *dh*, or (by the accentual exception) = prim. *t* (See (2) above). Yet, in the MSS., exceptions to the rule are not uncommon; as: *gōds*, *gōd*-, *-baud*-, *-bad*-, and the like.

(iv) Very rarely, on the other hand, this secondary final *þ* penetrates from the N. & A. s. into the interior position; as: (dat.) *gupa*-, for *guda*-, “*to god*”; (N. pl.) *unfrōþans*-, “*foolish*,” from *froda*-, “*wise*.”

(v) In the interior clusters *rd*, *ld*, *nd*, *gd*, and *zd*, the *d* was probably a closed sound, or media proper; and it so remained *in fine*, with or without *s*; as: *gardi*-(m.), “*house*,” N. s. *gards*, A. *gard*;—*aldi*-(f.), “*age, time*,” N. s. *alds*, A. *ald*;—*bindan*-, “*to bind*,” pret. 1 & 3 p. s. *band*;—*gahugdi*-(f.), “*conscience*,” N. s. *gahugds*, A. *gahugd*.

(vi) Of the clusters just mentioned *zd* = prim. *zdh* is interesting; the instances are<sup>3</sup>: Go. *mizdōn*-(f.), “*pay, reward*,” = A-S. *meord* (*r* for *z*, § 30 (2)) = O.Slav. *mǐzda* = Zd. *mǐzdha*-, I-E. base \**mizdh(o)*-(Grk. necessarily *μισθό-*);—Go. *gazda*-(m.), “*sting, goad*,” = A-S. *zæard*-, “*rod*,” = O.H.G. *cart*, *gart* = L. *hastā*- for \**hasθā* = prim. \**ghazdhā*-(or *-o* ?);—Go. *huzda*-(n.), “*treasure*,” = A-S. *heord*-, our “*hoard*,” = *hort*; to this the Latin *cust*-, in the extended form *cust-ōd*-, is probably equivalent;—Go. *razdō*-(f.), “*speech, mode of speech*,” = A-S. *reard*-, *reord* = O.H.G.

<sup>3</sup> See Osthoff, KZ. XXIII. 87.

*rarta*, implying a prim. or Eur. base *\*razdhā-*,  $\sqrt{\text{ras}}$ , which in Skt. denotes "crying, howling."

(vii) *dd* occurs only as an accretion before *j* (§ 29 (2, vii)).

(viii) Initial clusters are *dr* and *dw*; as: *drinkan*, "to drink"; *dreiban*, "to drive"; but *dw* only in *dwala-*, "foolish," and its derivatives.

### 34. The Labials.

(1) The Go. Tenuis *p* = H.G. *pf*, *f* (= Prim. *b*).

(i) In the parent speech the labial media was the rarest of mutes; indeed, Schleicher declared that he could not find a single example of it that was completely satisfactory. In genuine Gothic, initial *p* is of corresponding rarity. Most of the words in which it occurs (*prauþfētēs*, *psalma*, *plapja*, "street,"—probably mis-spelt for *platja* = *πλατεία*; and others) are borrowed bodily from the Grk.;—one or two from the Latin (as, *pund*, "pound");—and *plins-jan*, "to dance," may be borrowed from the O.Slav.;—but *punga-* (m.), "purse," (A-S. *pung*, O.N. (nom.) *pungr*, O.H.G. -*phung*, -*fung*.) appears to be common in Teutonic;—*peika-* (*bagms*), "palm-(tree)," and (*ana-*)*prangan*, "to (op-)press," are obscure. There remains only the word (N. s. f.) *paida* (stem *paidō-*), "a coat," = O.S. *pēda*, O.H.G. *pfeit*, which is of the same origin as Grk. *βαίτη*, "a coat of skins": these imply a Eur. base *\*baitā-*.

(ii) Examples with interior *p* are not very numerous; and none are satisfactorily connected with classical equivalents. Nevertheless, some of them are among the commonest of Teut. words; as: *diupa-* (adj.), "deep"; *skipa-* (n.), "ship"; *slēpan*, "to sleep"; *wēpna-* (n.), "weapon"; *hilpan*, "to help."

(iii) The initial cluster *sp* occurs in: *sparwan-* (m.), "sparrow"; *spinnan*, "to spin"; and two or three more;—*spr-* only in the adv. *sprautō*, "quickly."—Instances with initial *pr* and *pl* are cited above.

(2) The Spirant: (α) Gothic *f* = H.G. *f*, *v*, *b* = Prim. *p*; (β) Teut. *f*, for *hw* = prim. *q*.

Examples: (α, i) Go. *fadar*, "father," = O.H.G. *fatar*, Mod. Water = L. *pater*, G. *πατερ*, Skt. *pitar-*;—Go. *fōtu-* (m.), "foot," = O.H.G. *fuoz*, Mod. *Ἔuß* = L. *ped-*, G. *ποδ-* (but Dor. N. s. *πός*), Skt. *pād-*, *pad-*;—Go. *fiska-* (m.), "fish," = O.H.G. *fisc*, Mod. *Ἰῖsch* = L. *pisci-*;—Go. -*filla-* (n.), "fell," i. e., "skin," = *ſell* = L. *pell-*;—Go. *hafjan*, "to lift, heave," = O.H.G. *hefjan*, Mod. *heben* = L. *capere*;—Go. *hlifan*, "to steal," = L. *clepere*, G. *κλέπ-τειν*;—Go. *af*,

"from, of," = O.H.G. *aba*, Mod. *ab*- = L. *ab* for \**ap*, Gr. *ἀπό*, Skt. *ápa*;—Go. *uf*, "under, up," = *auf* = L. *s-ab*, for \**s-up* = G. *ὑπό* for \**σ-υπό*? = Skt. *úpa*;—Go. *ufar*, "over," = Ger. *über* = L. *s-uper* = G. *ὑπέρ* for \**σ-υπέρ*? = Skt. *upári*.

(ii) By the accentual exception we have: Go. *sibun*, "seven," = *sieben* = Teut. \**sebum* = prim. \**septm* (but with suppression of *t* between the two labials) = Lat. *septem*, Grk. *ἐπτά* for \**σептη*, Skt. *saptán*, prim. \**śeptṇ*;—Go. *hlāib-* (m.) = A-S. *hlāf*, "loaf," Ger. *Laib* = Lith. *klēpa*;—Go. *haubida-* = A-S. *heafod*, "head," = *haupt* = L. *capit-* (§ 26 (9, v) above);—Go. *laibō-* (f.), "remainder," cf. Grk. *λοιπα-*. Such a *b*, on assuming the final position, either alone or coupled with *s*, generally becomes *f*; as: stem *hlāiba-*, N. s. *hlāifs*, A. *hlāif* (yet also, occasionally, *hlāibs*, *hlāib*).

(iii) Apart from the accentual exception, a Go. *f* = prim. *p* generally maintains its value in the interior position; as: *hlifand*, "they steal"; *ni hlifais*, "do not steal"; *ushōfun*, "they lifted up"; from *hlifan*, *hafjan*, above cited.

(iv) Initial clusters are *fr* and *fl*; as in *fraisan*, "to tempt," *floodu-* (m.), "flood"; &c.

(v) For *ft* = *p* + *t*, see § 33 (1, iv).

(vi) *ff* does not occur.

(β, vii) The case of *f* in place of *hw* = prim. *q* (*kw*) deserves special attention. Examples: Go. *fidwōr*, for \**hwidwōr*, "four," = *vier* = L. *quatuor* (for \**quetwōr*) = Skt. *k'atrār-*;—Go. *finf*, for \**finhw*, "five," = *fünf* = L. *quinque* for \**pinque*, Skt. *pánk'an-* = Lith. *penki*;—Go. *wulfa-* (m.), for \**w!hwa-*, "wolf," = *Wolf* = L. *lupo-* for \**w!quo-*, Grk. *λύκο-* for *ῥῥκφο-*, Skt. *vrka-* = Lith. *vilka*<sup>1</sup>. These instances (and those in (viii)) belong to all the Teut. dialects; and to them perhaps may be added Go. and O.H.G. *hiufan*, "to mourn," A-S. *heōfian*, O.S. *hiofan* = Lith. *szauk-iū*, "to howl"<sup>2</sup>;—O.H.G. *foraha*, Mod. *föhre*, Langobardic *fereha*, A-S. *furh*, Engl. *fir* = Lat. *quercu*<sup>3</sup>. And, as instances of differentiation within the

<sup>1</sup> But compare the O.N. fem. *ylgr* = Teut. \**wolgjá-* (*g* = *gw*, for *hw* (*f*), by the accentual exception) = Skt. fem. *vrki*. (Verner, KZ., XXIII. 121.)

<sup>2</sup> L. Meyer, G.S. § 74; supported by J. Schmidt in his review of the book, KZ. XIX.

<sup>3</sup> Förstemann, Gesch., II. 219; Max Müller, Lectures, II. 247, 259; H. Möller, KZ. XXIV. 467.—Verner, in a note to his oft-cited article, shows that *f* of similar origin is not unknown in other linguistic regions; we ourselves are familiar with the *fat*, for *what*, of the Scotch Highlands. It may be added that Osthoff, M.U. I. 94, thinks that the final *f* of *finf* may be due to assimilation to the initial *f*, and the initial *f* of *fidwōr* to the influence of *finf*. But there is a sufficient number of other *f*'s evolved from *hw* by mere phonetic change to render such explanations unnecessary.

dialects, we may cite our *oven* = Germ. *Ofn*, beside the Go. *aúhna-*, Teut. *\*uhwna-*; and the Friesic *fial* beside our *wheel*, A-S. *hweol*, Teut. *\*hweula-* for *\*hwegwólá-*. The point to be noted is, that in all such cases the *f* comes from a primitive *velar* and not from a palatal; and, indeed, without a conjoined labial element there are no satisfactory means of accounting for the remarkable transformation in question (§ 20 (2)).

(viii) This and other considerations help to elucidate *-lif* (*f*=*hw*) in *ainlif*, "eleven," and *twalif*, "twelve." Bopp (followed by Schleicher, L. Meyer, Förstemann, and others) made *lif*=*dec*-em, *δέκα*-a, "ten"; and this etymology is still sometimes given out in this country as if it were the only one worth mentioning; whereas it is open to every possible objection: for the guttural of *decem*, &c., is a palatal (cf. Skt. *daṣan*); and in Go. *taihun* not only is the radical vowel also a palatal, but, both *ainlif* and *twalif* having passed into the *i*-declension, in the oblique cases (dat. *ainlibim*, *twalibim*<sup>4</sup>) the interior *f* (*b*) is actually flanked by palatal vowels<sup>5</sup>. Further, the presumed equivalence of Teut. *l* and prim. *d* is, as Schleicher admits, unsupported by any similar instance; and, lastly, the prim. word for "ten" ended in a sonant, which should have persisted (as *un*) in Gothic (cf. *sibun*, "seven," *niun*, "nine"<sup>6</sup>), which, however, *lif* does not show us. In point of fact, the prim. *\*decem* = Skt. *daṣan*, Grk. *δέκα*, Lat. *decem*, is exactly reproduced, sound for sound, in the Go. *taihun*, Teut. *\*tehun*, with which *-lif* cannot be connected by any defensible lines of sound-change.

(ix) This *-lif* is probably identical with the Lith. *-lika*, by the addition of which to the words for "one," "two," &c., the numerals of that language, from "eleven" to "nineteen" inclusive, are formed (*vėnū-lika*, "eleven," *dvý-lika*, "twelve," &c.). But here the *k* and *a* only apparently bring the word a stage nearer to *δέκα*, *decem*, &c.; for a Lith. clear *k* is the normal equivalent to a prim. velar; while the *a* has no right here at all, the correct Lith. equivalent of a prim. nasal sonant being, not *a* (as in Grk. and Skt.), but *im* (*in*, *yn*). The initial *l* for a supposed *d* is also as unsupported in Lith. as in Teut.<sup>7</sup>; and even the interior *i* (which may pass in Go. *lif*) is irregular; for the proper Lith. form of prim. or Eur. *e* is likewise *e*. On the other hand, the actual Lith. equiva-

<sup>4</sup> For interior *b* = final *f*, see later on: as to the *i*-declension, see note <sup>2</sup> to § 61.

<sup>5</sup> Which should prevent labialism.

<sup>6</sup> But see § 35, note <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> As to *lēzūvi* = Lat. *linguā*- for *āngwā*- = Go. *tungōn*-, "tongue," see § 32 (3, ii).

lent of *decem* is *deszim*<sup>7</sup>, in which (just as in Go. *talþna*) every letter is as exactly regular as, in *lika*, every letter would, on Bopp's hypothesis, be irregular.

(x) The præ-Teut. bases of the Gothic words are *\*ainliqua*<sup>8</sup>, *\*dwaliqua*- (neuter plural?), and *-liqua*- goes back to the prim. verb-root *\*reiq*, *\*riq*=*λειπ*-, *λιπ*- = Lat. *liqua*-, *liq*u- = Lith. *lik*-, "leave," = Teut. (before the operation of Verner's law) *leihw*-, *lihw*- (but the meaning of *leihw*- in Go. is "lend," i. e., "leave" in some one else's hands). The *hw* then became *f* in these numerals, giving *lif*, which is to Lith. *lik* as Go. *wulfa*- for *\*wolhwa*- is to Lith. *vilka*-. The precise grammatical force of *lif*, *lik*, whether participial, substantival, or what not, it is now impossible to determine; but in point of general meaning it is probable that *ainlif*, *tualif* were originally equivalent to "one left, or over," "two left, or over" (i. e., beyond ten).

(xi) The proper final consonant in these words was *f* and not *b*. This is clear from the O.H.G., where *f* appears in the interior as well as in the final position<sup>9</sup>: if *b* had been radical, O.H.G. should have answered with *b* or *p*. Yet, in the oblique cases in Gothic, *b* appears in the interior position. Kluge, therefore, (See note <sup>8</sup>), takes the interchange to be an instance ("the only certain one" in declension) of the accentual exception. It may, however, be simply due to the influence of the phonetic ratios referred to in §§ 30 (2, vii) and 31 (5) and (7), which are specially Gothic, and which even affected foreign names, as *Iôsēba* by *Iôsēf*, and *Asabis* by *\*Asaf*.

(3) Go. *b* = H.G. *b*, *p* = Prim. *bh* (Grk. *φ*, Lat. *f*, *b*).

(i) Examples: Go. *baíran*, "to bear," = O.H.G. *bëran*, *përan* = Lat. *fer-re*, Grk. *φέρ-ειν*, Skt. *bhar*-;—Go. *beitan*, "to bite" = O.H.G. *bizan*, *pizan*, Mod. *beißen* = Lat. *fid*-, *find-ere*, Skt. *bhid*-;—Go. *bōkō*- (f.), "a letter," in plur., "book," = *Buch*; probably the same word as Teut. *\*bōkō*-, A-S. *bōc* = O.H.G. *buochō*- or *puochō*-, Mod. *Buche*, "a beech," = Lat. *fāgo*-, Grk. *φῆγο*- (for *φᾶγο*-);—Go. *liuba*- (adj.), "dear, be-lov-ed," A-S. *leof*, "lief," = Ger. *lieb* = Lat.

<sup>7</sup> The Lith. word for "ten" actually in use is *deszim-ti*-, an abstract subst. formed from *deszim*-, somewhat like the Grk. *δεκα*-δ- from *δέκα*.

<sup>8</sup> But for "elev-en" some non-Gothic dialects show an *an*-stem (as in A-S. *andleofan*, or *elleofan*); and, as Kluge suggests (PBB. VI. 396+), it is more likely that the Gothic *ainlif* is an assimilation to *tualif* than that the other dialects should have introduced dissimilation.

<sup>9</sup> A fact which puzzles Holtzmann (Gram. I. 307); but that is because he takes for granted that *b*, not *f*, is the radical consonant.

*lub-*, *lib-* (in *lub-et*, *lib-īdon-*, &c.), Skt. *lubh-*, "be perturbed (with desire)";—Go. *sihjō-* (f.) "relationship," A-S. *sib*, preserved in our "*gos-sip*" (i. e. "good-sib"), = *Ḫirre*; cf. Skt. *sabhā-*, "community, society."

(ii) In other instances classical equivalents are wanting; as: Go. *badja-* (n.), "bed," *Bett*;—*bagma-* (m.), "tree" (*beam*), *Baum*<sup>10</sup>;—*batizan-* (adj.), "better," *besser*.

(iii) The genuine interior *b* flanked by vowels, as well as the exceptional *b* (See (2, ii) above), on assuming the final position, either alone or coupled with *s*, generally becomes *f*; as: infin. *giban*, "to give," but 2 p. s. imperative *gif*, 1 & 3 p. s. pret. *gaf*;—*bi-leiban*, "to remain," 1 & 3 p. s. pret. *bi-laif*; &c. Yet *b* not unfrequently occurs; as: stem *þiuba-*, "thief," N. s. *þiubs*; *graban*, "to dig," 1 & 3 p. pret. *grōb*, "I digged."

(iv) In the clusters *rb*, *lb*, *mb*, *b* was probably a close sound or media proper, and persisted *in fine*; as in *-swarb*, 1 & 3 p. pret. to *-swairban*, "to wipe"; N. and A. s. *lamb* (n.), "a sheep," stem *lamba-*;—perhaps also in the cluster *bn*; as in *stibnō-* (f.), "voice," O.E. *stefen*, *steven*; *ibna* (adj.), "even, equal," N. s. m. *ibns*.

(v) *bb* does not occur in Gothic words.

### 35. Miscellaneous Phonetic Rules.

(1) Crasis or vowel-fusion appears to have been unknown in Gothic: the collocation of two separate vowels, whether the same or different, giving what is commonly known as "hiatus," frequently occurs; e. g.: *gairman*, "to compassionate"; *gaibnjan*, "to make even or level"; *anaäukan*, "to add on"; *biäbrjan*, "to be astonished"; *duätgangan*, "to come to"; *saísöüm*, "we sowed" (pret. 1 p. pl. to *saian*). But apocope is allowed in a few recognized cases; as, e. g., of *a*, before *ist*, "is," *-uh*, "and," *-ei*, "that" (relative); and of the *i* of *ni*, "not," before *ist*, and *ibai*, "lest, if"; thus: *þatist* = *þata* + *ist*, "that is"; *karist* = *kara* + *ist* (*imma*), "there-is care (to him)" = " (he) cares"; *þammuh* = *þamma* + *uh*, "and to him"; *þammei*, "to whom," = *þamma* + *ei*, "to him that"; 3 p. s. pret. *frēt* = *fra* + *ēt*, pl. *frētun*, "he, they devoured" (but infin. *fraitan*,—see § 24, note <sup>3</sup>); *nist* = *ni* + *ist*, "is not"; *nibai*, "unless," = *ni* + *ibai*, "if not." In borrowed names a variety of treatment appears: sometimes a hiatus is preserved (*gaiaínna* = *γέεννα*, "Gehenna"); sometimes it is filled up with *h* (*Aharon* = Aaron); and sometimes one vowel is elided (*Isak* = Isaac).

<sup>10</sup> See § 29 (1, viii).

(2) The relationships subsisting between the final sounds of Gothic words and those of corresponding words in the parent speech have, in the main, been summed up in a few general rules (*Auslautsgesetze*, "Rules for the final sound"). Thus, as regards *consonants*,—

(i) The only primitive final retained by the Gothic is *s* (whatever sound immediately precedes); any other final consonant is rejected; *e.g.*: Go. *sununs* (A. plur. = prim. \**sunums*, "sons"; Go. *saihs* = Lat. *sex* (= *seks*); nom. sing. *sunus*, plur. *sunjus* = prim. \**sunus*, \**sunen-es*;—but 3 p. pl. pret. *nēmun* (not *nēmunþ*) = \**nē-n'm-unt* (§ 24 (3) above); acc. sing. *sunu* = prim. \**sunum*<sup>2</sup>.

As regards *vowels*—

(ii) The Gothic rejects the prim. finals *ǣ*, (*o*, *e*), *ǝ*,—the last sometimes even when it appears to be a factor in the diphthong *ai*; the first (*a* = *ǣ*) even when it may be considered an element of *ā* (= *ǣ*) = Go. *ō*; *e.g.*: Go. 3 p. s. *wait*, "he knows," = Grk. *foīd-e*; Skt. *vēda*; 2 p. s. act. *baúris* = *φέρεis* for \**φέρεσι* = Skt. *bhárasi*; 2 p. s. pass. *baíraza*, 3 p. *baíraða*, 3 p. pl. *baíranda* = (*φέρη* for) \**φέρεσαι*, *φέρεται*, *φέρονται* = Skt. *bharasē* (*-ē* = *-ai*), &c.: and of all fem. substs. with stems in *ō* = *ā* (*gibō*, "gift," *saiwalō*, "soul," &c.) the N. s. (to which the accus. is assimilated) is in *a* (*giba*, *saiwala*, &c.). Similar is the ratio *-ē*: *-a*. See § 26 (1, iii) and (4, iii).

(iii) These two central rules are subject to various qualifications and extensions. Rule (ii), for example, is to be extended to cover the vowel of a final *syllable* ended by a consonant; as: stem *daga-* (m.), "day," or *ansti-* (f.), "grace," O. Teut. nom. sing. \**dágaz*, \**ánstiz*, but Gothic *dags*, *anstis*. Hence, when the terminating consonant is any other than *s*, both consonant (by Rule (i)) and vowel disappear; as in the accus. of the substs. just cited, viz., *dag*, *anst*, for \**dagam*, \**anstim*: in *ja*-stems the remaining *j* is then vocalized; as: stem *harja-*, "army," *haírdja-*, "shepherd," acc. s. *hari*, *haírdi*.

<sup>1</sup> Originally by Westphal, in Kuhn's ZS. II.; there is a good summary by Schleicher, "Compendium," 3rd ed., 154-5 and 325-8; and an ample discussion by Scherer, "Zur Gesch." 2nd ed. 174-211: there are further important contributions to the general question by Sievers in PBB. V. 101+, and Paul in VI. 124+; whom, with very doubtful success, J. Schmidt opposes in KZ. XXVI. 20-42. (See § 85 below.)

<sup>2</sup> In *sibun*, *niun*, *taihun*, (§ 26 (11, iii),) *n* derived from a prim. sonant persists. Osthoff, however, (M.U. I. 130-2) thinks that even these should normally have been \**sibu*, &c.; but that the *n* has been preserved by influence of the ordinals *sibun-da*, &c., where the *n* correctly appears. Kögel, again, (PBB. VIII. 119+,) makes *taihund* the original form, whence, by (i) above, *taihun*, which influenced *sibun* and *niun*.

(iv) Monosyllables are exempt from these rules, which, indeed, if applied, would reduce them either to a single consonant or to an unpronounceable cluster; thus, the demonstr. N. s. m. *sa*, "that (man)," = Grk. *ὁ* (for *σο*), Skt. *sa*; —f. *sō*, "that (woman)," = Grk. *ἡ* (for *ση* = *σᾶ*), Skt. *sā*; and the like.

(v) A prim. final *u* also persists; e. g.: stem *sunu-* "son," N. s. *sunus*, A. *sunu*; N. s. *faīhu* (m.), "property" (orig. "cattle"), = Lat. *pecu*, Skt. *paçu*. This persistence is due, as Sievers suggests, to the fact that originally this *u* generally bore the accent.

(vi) With respect to Rule (i) it is to be noted that a final *s* has disappeared in N. s. after *r* preceded by a vowel; as: stem *anþara-*, "other," N. s. m. *anþar*; stem *waíra-*, "man," N. s. *waír*. In the case of weak subst. in *-an*, the *n* also vanishes as well as the *s*; e. g.: stem *guman-*, "man," but nom. s. *guma*. These, however, are not distinctively Gothic characteristics (cf. Lat. *altero-*, nom. s. *alter*; *homon-*, nom. s. *homo*).

(vii) But the most remarkable variation from Rule (i) is caused by the accession of an enclitic *-a* to the end of certain words, where it protects the final consonants. These words fall into two classes: (*α*) some "cases" of the monosyllabic pronouns and of adjectives of the pronominal declension (§ 54 at end); (*β*) some "persons" of the subjunctive (= optative) mood of the verb:—as (*α*), masc. acc. *þana*, "that (man)," neut. N. & A. *þata*, "that (thing)," (on the other hand *hwa*, by the rule, for *\*hwat*, "what"); *ina*, "him," *ita*, "it"; and similarly, of the adjective, say *mikila-*, "great," the A. m. is *mikilana*, N. & A. neut. *mikilata*; and the like<sup>3</sup>;—(*β*), of *baíran*, 1 p. pl. subj. pres. is *baíraima*, 3 p. *baíraina*, "we, they, may bear"; 1 p. pl. pret. *bēreima*, 3 p. *bēreina*, "we, they, might bear"; and the 1 p. dual, pres. is *baíraiwa*, pret. *\*bēreiwa*. Scherer traces this verbal *-a* (which probably differed from the pronominal *-a*) to *an*=the *αν* that accompanies the optative and other moods in Grk. Note, however, that a final consonant or even a syllable (sometimes involving *s*) has vanished from before it; e. g., *baíraim-*, *baírain-*, = Eur. *bhēroimes*, *bhēroint*, Grk. *φέρουμεν* (-μες), *φέρουεν* (τ).

36. *Summary.* (1) On the pattern adopted in § 15 the sounds of the Gothic tongue may be tabulated thus:—

Clear gutturals: *k*, *h*, *g*, and *n*=*ng*, (when conjoined with back vowels); *a*, *ā*;

Velars: *qu* (= *kw*), *hw*, *gw*; *aú* (= *ō*), *ō*;

Semi-palatals: *aí* (= *ě*), *ē*;

<sup>3</sup> This *a* is short to *ō* (= *ā*): see § 26 (4).



Palatals: *k, h, g*, and *ñ*, = *ng*, (when conjoined with palatal vowels); — *j*; *i*, *ei* (= *i*);  
 Dentals: *t, d, þ*; *s, z*; *r, l, n*;  
 Labials: *p, b, f*; *m*; *u, ū*; *w*;  
 Diphthongs: *ai, au, iu*.

(2, i) The phonetic texture of a language is best shown by the proportions in which its various sounds occur in continuous speech. In Gothic, failing the living voice, we must fall back on continuous written composition. I have therefore carefully tabulated the recurrent sounds, to the number of 5000, in ten passages selected from various parts of *Ulfilas*<sup>1</sup>, with the following results as regards the individual sounds:—

Vowels:—*a*, 777; *i*, 410; *u*, 198; *ei*, 162; *ai*, 139; *ō*, 78; *au*, 76; *ē*, 68; *ai* (ē), 54; *au* (ō), 28; *iu*, 14; *ū*, 6; *ā*, 2.

Consonants:—*n*, 525; *s*, 410; *þ*, 261; *m*, 207; *t*, 203; *d*, 202; *h*, 185; *r*, 174; *j*, 154; *g*, 125; *w*, 125; *l*, 108; *f*, 77; *b*, 69; *k*, 62; *z*, 39; *qu*, 21; *p*, 14; *hw*, 13; *ng*, 10; *gw*, 4.

Total of vowels, 2012, or 40·24 per cent.; of consonants, 2988, or 59·76 per cent.; *i. e.*, of every five successive sounds two on the average are vowels and three are consonants.

(ii) Or, otherwise, if the numbers in each division be reduced to per-centages, it appears that, of the *vowels alone*, *a*=38·62 per cent.; *i*=20·38; *u*=9·84; *ei* (*i*), 8·05; *ai*=6·9; *ō*=3·88; *au*=3·78; *ē*=3·38; *ai* (ē)=2·68; *au* (ō)=1·39; *iu*=0·7; *ū*=0·3; *ā*=0·1.

Of the *consonants alone*, *n*=17·57 p. c.; *s*=13·72; *þ*=8·73; *m*=6·93; *t*=6·8; *d*=6·76; *h*=6·2; *r*=5·82; *j*=5·15; *g*=4·18; *w*=4·18; *l*=3·62; *f*=2·58; *b*=2·31; *k*=2·08; *z*=1·3; *qu*=0·7; *p*=0·47; *hw*=0·44; *ng*=0·33; *gw*=0·13.

(iii) The striking preponderance of *a* among the vowels must have imparted a distinct tonality to the language; and more than half of the recurrent sounds fall among these six,—*a, i, u, n, s, þ*; not one of which is a complete stop: indeed (the mediæ being partly reckoned among the open sounds), it will be found that only about one in eight of the Gothic sounds are complete stops.

<sup>1</sup> Those parts being avoided which show any marked departure from the normal spelling; *e. g.*, the earlier chapters of *Luke*, where *d* frequently occurs for the usual final *þ*.

## PART III.

## MORPHOLOGY.

37. (1) While Phonology, as we have seen, treats of individual speech-sounds, and takes words into account only in so far as they supply phonetic material; Morphology, reversely, treats of the various forms assumed by individual words, and takes sounds and sound-clusters into account only in so far as they enter into the construction of such forms. Phonology may be called the physical side of language, where it comes into contact with physiology and acoustics; its metaphysical side will hereafter come under consideration in Syntax, where language appears as a function of the mind,—an expression of mental modes and operations by means of phrase and sentence. Morphology lies between the two; for, taking sounds and their combinations as so much physical material, it builds up words therefrom as agents for the expression of ideas, and with a view to their collocation in the sentence. In this division of Grammar, therefore, a new element appears, commonly called “meaning,”—a term that covers the notions, ideas, and feelings which are expressed by words, and apart from which the sounds of speech would be so much mere noise.

(2) The “meaning” of a word may undergo modification according as the word is used independently of, or dependently upon, other words; and the independent meaning may often be subdivided into general and specific. To these varieties of meaning there correspond, in the older I-E. languages, definite sounds and sound-clusters that enter as components or factors into the phonetic body of the complete word. These accordingly fall into three strata, viz. :—

- (i) Factors embodying a general meaning;
- (ii) Factors (whether, as we know them, they can be shown to have an independent meaning or not) which, when added to the factors described in (i), have the effect of specializing the meaning;
- (iii) Factors (generally destitute, as we know them, of an independent meaning) which, when superadded upon the foregoing, indicate the relationships of words to other words in a sentence; or which imply some special mode of conception on the part of the speaker.

A factor of the first or fundamental stratum is called a *Root*;—a factor of the second is called a *Suffix* or a *Prefix*, according as it follows or precedes the root to which it is attached<sup>1</sup>, and the form resulting from the combination of root and suffix is called a *Stem* or *Theme*<sup>2</sup>;—factors of the third order may be called *Inflexional Suffixes*; and these, varying with the function of the fully-organized word (verb, pronoun, substantive, adjective), serve as exponents of its syntactic relations or grammatical properties (mood, tense, number, person, case).

(3) For example: let us take the word *aflageinai* from the following Gothic sentence:—"Mērida Iōhannēs daupein idreigōs du *aflageinai* frawaurhtē" (Mark i. 4),—i. e., "John preached the baptism of repentance for (=with a view to) the remission of sins." The root or core of this word is *lag*=Engl. *lay*, the deep-tone variety of the root *lig* with the general meaning of *lie* (§§ 24 (2) and 26 (1, i)). The first suffix was once probably of the form *éja* (See § 43 (2, i) below), giving a stem *\*lag-éja-* with the modified but still general meaning of "cause to lie," ∴ "lay, put." To this stem was added the secondary suffix *ni*, giving a feminine subst. stem with the narrower (substantival) meaning of "a laying, a putting." This composite stem appears reduced to the form *lageini-* (f.), which fell into a regular inflexional system (the "*i*-declension"), and from which compounds were formed by means of various prefixes, such as *af*="off, away, aside." The stem *aflageini-* therefore denotes "a laying or putting aside," and renders the Grk. ἀφεσι-, "remission." But it does not, in this shape, enter into relationship with other words of a sentence; for this purpose it must be equipt with varieties of endings, the remains of older inflexional suffixes. Thus, in the passage above cited, the final syllable *ai* is used in Gothic to form a dative case for *i*-feminines; and this case is always required in Gothic substantives correlated to the rest of a sentence by *du*. *Aflageinai*, in its turn, requires a completing substantive which must indicate its relationship thereto by taking the genitive form,—here

<sup>1</sup> A factor might be thrust *into* a root, and would then be called an *Infix*. It is not certain that Infixes proper are a feature of I.-E. morphology (but see Windisch, in KZ. XXI., and De Saussure, "Mémoire," p. 239 *et seqq.*): there is frequently found, however, what appears to be a phonetic transposition which closely resembles infixation,—as, e. g., in the *n* of the Lat. *fundo, lingō*, &c., for *fud-no, lig-no*, and the like.

<sup>2</sup> Many later stems exhibit more than one suffix or prefix (See the example in (3)); but these imply the simpler stems with a single suffix.

the gen. plur. *frawaúrhtē*, stem *frawaúrhti-* (f.), "wrong-working, sin," from *√waúrkh*, "work." Now the investigation of such abstract relationships as those just referred to is the business of Syntax; but the examination and classification of the factors of the completed word, ready to enter into those relationships (N. s. *af-lag-ei-n-s*, D. *af-lag-ei-n-ai*, G. pl. *fra-waúrht-ē*, &c., &c.), is the business of Morphology.

38. A line or two may here be added upon each species of factor with which Morphology has to deal, and upon the order in which the Word is conceived to be built up from them.

(1, i) *Roots* were once, probably, independent vocables,—primeval words, of physical or concrete meaning,—possibly, in some instances, the rudimentary sentences of our remotest ancestors. As to their original form, however, nothing definite can be asserted; for we only know the I-E. root as the core or nucleus of a word or group of words, from which it is enucleated by modern analysis. But the completed I-E. word, as we find it, is an elaborate product of many ages of continuous, though it may have been very slow, mental and linguistic development, during which the constituent factors, before, and during, and after coalescence, may have undergone an indefinite amount of phonetic modification. It may be due (as Paul thinks) to some leveling process, rather than to any primordial necessity, that I-E. roots, as we know them, are all adjusted to the one general form of monosyllabism, although, within this limit, any pronounceable cluster of elementary sounds may be compressed; and so, when reduced to writing, they may require for their representation one, two, three, four, or even five symbols (as *i*, "that, he"; *ei*, "go"; *ed*, "eat"; *pri*, "love"; *ten*, "stretch"; *steigh*, "go, go up"; *spereg*, "make a noise"; *smerd*, "bite, give pain"<sup>1</sup>). The more complex of such forms probably arose from the fusion of two or more simpler roots; but the results reached by so minute an analysis are too uncertain to be of much scientific value<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *ei*, *gh*, and the like, count of course as simple symbols. Words like the Latin *string(ere)* suggest roots of six symbols; but the *n* here once probably followed the *g* (See note <sup>1</sup> to § 37).

<sup>2</sup> See, however, Fick's thoroughgoing investigation in the *Nachtrag* to his W-B., 2nd ed., reprinted in the 3rd ed., and his treatise in BB. I. 1+; cf. also Paul, in Beitr. VI. 118, *note*. Their views point to the conclusion that composite roots involve as many ultimate irresolvable roots (of the form *ta*, *da*, &c.) as they show consonants.

(ii) Nevertheless, behind and beneath roots lay the elementary sounds that form the ultimate germs of language. These were probably, in the very first instance, used without any definite logical function, and served merely to arrest attention, or to express passion, or to instigate or impel to action; for which purposes any one of the many producible sounds would serve as well as any other. But they would soon begin to be allocated,—defined as it were,—by deictic or imitative action, to two main classes of ideas corresponding to the difference in nature between matter and motion. Established interjectional sounds, as applied to things, would become first demonstrative and then generally pronominal; and, as applied to actions, imperative and afterwards predicative. The division of primary roots, therefore, into pronominal and verbal, as given by most philologists, may be pretty safely accepted. The ultimate pronoun was, indeed, as Fick well says, the primeval noun; for in the infancy of mankind every object would be “this thing” or “that thing”; and the power to *name* things, in accordance with their apparent qualities, by means of combinations of roots, would be the result of a long period of observation and of mental (and corresponding linguistic) growth.

(iii) It was, in fact, the power of combining simple into composite vocables, in endless variety, for the expression of combinations of simple ideas, that gave rise to the copious vocabulary of the parent I-E. people. Upon the successive fissures of this people (See § 1), each division and subdivision took with it so much of that vocabulary as it had already appropriated; but in the course of its separate existence it gradually dropt words that were no longer required; while, on the other hand, to express new ideas, new compounds were formed out of old materials and on the old patterns; sometimes, probably, foreign words were adopted bodily from alien peoples with whom the various divisions came in contact; and finally, the whole vocabulary and grammar of each division were moulded by certain characteristic tendencies which gave to them a distinctive aspect. But the derived peoples no longer (so far as we can judge) fashioned and operated with new and independent roots of their own; so that by “roots” we strictly mean the *primitive* vocables so named. Nevertheless, it is convenient to be allowed to speak, for example, of Gothic, Latin, or Greek roots (*e.g.*, Go.  $\sqrt{baír}$  = Lat.  $\sqrt{fer}$  = Grk.  $\sqrt{\phi\epsilon\rho}$  = prim.  $\sqrt{bher}$ ); and no harm will be done if it be borne in mind that we mean thereby “the special forms that primitive roots assume in Gothic, Latin, and Greek words.”

(2, i) If Roots were originally independent vocables, then *Stem-forming Suffixes*—e. g., the *ja* of *aflag-ja-*, the *ti* of *frawaurh-ti-*, in § 37 (3)—must have been so likewise. In this case, they would probably be at the outset of precisely the same nature as the roots themselves; but having entered into combination with the latter as qualifying or determining factors, they gradually lost their primeval independence and meaning, and probably, too, in many instances, their primeval form. Most or all of the oldest stem-forming suffixes are generally believed to have been of pronominal origin<sup>3</sup>. Their function, force, and shape, like those of roots, were settled in primitive times. The composites made up by their means served as bases for nouns and for secondary verbs; which were completed and differentiated by the accession of the factors that were afterwards ground down into Inflexional Suffixes.

(ii) It may be added that, with the process of stem-formation by the combination of previously independent elements, there agree certain modes of word-formation that have since prevailed over the whole I-E. area; and the degradation (so to say) of independent vocables of definite meaning into mere formative syllables, expressive only in combination, may be illustrated by many comparatively modern instances<sup>4</sup>.

(iii) The formation of stems from roots by the addition of appropriate suffixes is called *Derivation*. To investigate this process and to examine and classify the suffixes involved in it is the first of the three principal duties of Morphology.

(3, i) But new forms, or at least varieties of older ones, may be constructed by combining subordinate *initial* factors with other factors related to them as principals. This process is called *Composition*, which appears to have grown out of the temporary collocation of a qualifying beside a qualified word, of a "governing" beside a "governed" word, or of a word with a specific beside one with a generic meaning. It may be that the factors of a compound are, as independent words, of coordinate grammatical rank, and that the relationship of principal and subordinate is but temporarily entered into; still, for the time being, some sort of subordination is accepted by one or the other. A closer variety of composition appears when the first factor is, as a separate vocable,

<sup>3</sup> Some later (but still primitive) verb-stems, however, show a simple primary verb as the accessory factor (e. g., Lat. *cre-do* = Skt. *ṣrad-dhā-*, where the first factor is a subst. and *do* = *dhā-*, "set, put").

<sup>4</sup> As, e. g., by our *-ly* in "godly, wisely," &c., originally *like*;—by our *-hood, -head* = the independent Go. word *haidu-* (m.), "way, manner";—by the French adverbial *-ment* = Lat. ablative *mente*; &c.

of inferior grammatical rank to the word with which it combines. Yet, even in this case, the subordinate words only in a few instances surrender their independent existence, although there is certainly a tendency to do so (See § 45).

(ii) The extension of the I-E. vocabulary by Composition is to be regarded as a younger process than that mode of suffixal combination out of which grew the I-E. stem; and this process has retained much of its original vigour down to the latest times. As a matter of chronology only, Composition should in fact come after Inflexion. As a matter of convenience, however, it may best be treated in the order here assigned to it.

(4, i) The third and last main division of Morphology treats of *Inflexion*, and deals with those final sounds or syllables which complete the word as distinguished from the stem, and with words themselves as thus completed.

(ii) In the I-E. grammatical system the Inflexional suffix is the result of an effort to express the relation in which one person or thing stood either to an action or to some other person or thing. The sounds originally so employed were probably, like stem-suffixes, of a demonstrative or pronominal nature. Until recently, indeed, it was almost a commonplace of philology that the oldest "personal" suffixes of the I-E. verb, for example, were identical with, or compounded from, certain forms of the personal pronouns that also remained in ordinary use as such. Thus, the three sing. endings *-mi*, *-si*, *-ti* of Skt. *ás-mi*, *á-si*, *ás-ti*; Grk. *εἰ-μί* (for *\*ἔσ-μι*), *ἐσ-σί*, *ἐσ-τί*, (reduced to the bare consonants in Lat. *sum*, *es* (for *\*es-si*), *es-t*; in the Go. *im*<sup>5</sup>, *is* (for *\*is-si*), *ist*, and in the *m*, *s*, *t*, with or without a vowel, that appear so frequently in conjugation) have been by some identified with the base of the Skt. *ma-*, Grk. (ἐ)μέ-, Lat. *me*, "me";—Skt. *tva-*, Grk. *τυ*, *στυ*, *σε*, Lat. *tu*, *te*, "thou";—and Skt. *ta-*, Grk. *το-*, Lat. *-te* (in *is-te*), Go. *þa-*, "he, that man"; while the plural endings, *-masi*, *-tas(i)*, *-(a)nti*; Lat. *-mus*, *-tis*, *-nt*; Go. *-m*, *-þ*, *-nd*, have been analysed into *ma + sa = I + thou*, i. e. *we*;—*ta + sa = he + thou*, i. e. *ye*;—and *an* or *ana + ta = he + he*, i. e. *they*; and so of other endings. Now some of such identifications may pass, nothing being decisively known for or against them; but others (as that of *-si* with *tva-*) are, on phonetic grounds, highly improbable<sup>6</sup>. Nevertheless, although

<sup>5</sup> This is the only instance in Gothic of a 1 p. sing. in *-m = -mi*; all other verbs show *-a = Lat. -o*, Grk. *-ω*.

<sup>6</sup> See Brugman, M.U. I. 133+, and "Zum heutigen Stand," &c., 119+; Delbrück, "Einleitung," 1st ed., 96+.

the verb-endings, all or some, were not identical with the extant independent pronouns, they may very well have been of similar (pronominal) origin and force; for the separate pronouns proper are probably survivals out of a crowd of such vocables, of which many, superfluous as pronouns proper, would be open to appropriation for suffixal uses. On this view, the various "persons" of the completed I-E. verb would appear to comprise subject as well as prædicate, *i. e.*, were, in reality, simple propositions; and hence it is that the verb in Latin, Greek, Gothic, and other old dialects, generally requires no separate nominative, when such nominative is a pronoun. But where the personal suffixes have in course of time either been worn completely away (as, mostly, in English) or deprived of their primitive force, there the reappearance of a separate nominative or subject has become, in nearly every instance, a matter of necessity.

(iii) The noun<sup>7</sup>, on its narrower scale, has passed through a history similar to that of the verb. To the stem were appended previously-independent vocables, likewise, it would seem, originally demonstrative, and similar to those which also appear as independent prepositions. These indicated that the person or thing denoted by the stem was that from or towards which an action proceeded, or in, by, near, to, or from which some other person or thing lay or moved; and so on. *Every* such distinct relationship, when apprehended, required, theoretically, its own special appendage, which by coalescence with the noun-stem would form what was ultimately known as a "case." But whether cases to anything like the extent required were ever formed and were afterwards superseded, or whether (as is more likely) men in remoter ages were content to make a single form serve for a cluster of closely-related notions of reference, certain it is that in later primitive times only some eight cases (apart from the Vocative, which is of the nature of an Interjection) appear to be distinctly established. The finer shades of relationship,—the *between, in, into, within; without, out-of, away-from*; and numbers more,—were expressed by detached particles (*viz.*, the aforesaid prepositions), each of which required to be followed by that one of the established cases which was felt to involve a notion most nearly corresponding to its own. Subsequently, the history of the noun is, in most of the derived languages, a history of the disappearance of many of the cases proper. In Latin there are but five

<sup>7</sup> "Noun," in the present work, generally covers both substantive and adjective,—the latter of which radiated from the former.



(besides the Voc.); in Greek but four; in Gothic also four. In English we retain in partial use only the old genitive suffix 's; other indirect relationships are nearly all expressed by prepositions, which have now become as indispensable to the noun as pronouns have become to the verb.

(iv) It should be noted that Inflexional suffixes may be attached directly to a root, or, in other words, that a root may serve directly as a stem; and nouns and verbs exhibiting this formation are said to be "non-thematic" (such as ποδ-"foot," in Grk., or the present tense of δίδωμι). Nouns inflected upon a simple root scarcely occur in Gothic,—all (with the partial exception of *man-*) having assumed some formative suffix; but, among the verbs, besides the present sing. *im, is, ist*, all the preterites indic. of the strong verbs<sup>8</sup>, imply, at least in some "persons," older non-thematic perfects.

We now proceed to summarize the details of Gothic Morphology under the above-described sub-heads of Derivation, Composition, and Inflexion.

## (I) DERIVATION.

In order to break up the abundant material into manageable sections, it will here be convenient to treat the stem-formation of the principal parts of speech in succession, and to group the suffixes according to their degrees of complexity.

39. *Substantives and Adjectives* : Stems formed by simple vowels<sup>1</sup>.

(1) Suffix *a*=prim. *o*.—Examples : *wulfa-* (m.), "wolf," =L. *lupo-*, Gr. *λυκο-*;—*juka-* (n.), "yoke," =L. *jugo-*, Gr. *ζυγο-*;—*haiha-* (adj., m. & n.), "one-eyed," =L. *caeco-*, "blind";—*rauda-*, "red," =L. *rufo-*;—*junga-*, "young," =L. *juvenco-* : but sometimes a classical equivalent differs in suffix, and even in gender also; as : Go. *fiska-* (m.), "fish," =L. *pisci-* (m.); Go. *wiga-* (m.), "way," =L. *viā-* (f.), for *\*wehā-*. Prim. *o* formed masculines and neuters, and interchanged with *e* in the course of declension (§ 23 (1)).

(2) The suffix *ō*=prim. *ā* (*ā*) forms feminines, and may be considered as complementary to *a*=*o*.—Examples : *ahwō-*, "water," =L. *aquā-*;—*bidō-*, "a prayer, request," from

<sup>8</sup> Including, of course, the old preterites that assumed the force of present tenses (§ 80).

<sup>1</sup> Gradation of the stem-vowels (§ 23 (1)) is mostly left out of account : the simplest vowel-form of a series is generally selected.

*bidjan*, "to pray, beg";—*gilō-*, "a gift," from *giban*, "to give";—so also, *airþō-*, "earth"; *þiudō-*, "folk, people"; and others. Add the bases of the feminine of the strong *a*-adj. (§ 55); as: *haihō-*, "one-eyed"; *raudō-*, "red"; *jungō-*, "young"; &c.

(3) Suffix *i*=prim. *i*.—Examples: *awi-* (f.?), "sheep, ewe" (but it only occurs in the compound *awi-stra-*, "sheep-fold," § 41 (4))=L. *ovi-*, Gr. *ōi-*, for \**ōfi-*, Skt. *avi-*;—add: *slahi-* (m.), "a blow," from *slahan*, "to smite"; *mati-* (m.), "meat"; *daili-* (f.), "a share, a dole"; &c. Gothic *i*-subst. are m. & f. only.—From *i*-adjs. the *i* has disappeared and the stems have to be reconstructed from indirect evidence (§ 56).

(4) Suffix *u*=prim. *u*.—Examples: *faihu-* (n.), "cattle, wealth,"=L. *pecu-*, Skt. *paçu-*;—*haidu-* (m.), "manner, way,"=Skt. *ketú-*, i. e., *kaitú-*, "appearance";—*filu-* (n.), "much,"=Gr. *πολύ-*;—*kaúru-* (adj.), "heavy,"=Gr. *βαρύ-* (§ 26, note<sup>6</sup>). Some stems originally ending in a consonant have assumed *-u*; as: *fōtu-* (m.), "foot," but L. *ped-*, Gr. *ποδ-*, Skt. *pād-*, *pād-*;—*tunþu-* (m.), "tooth," but L. *dent-*, Gr. *ὀδοντ-*, Skt. *dant-*, *dat-*: the Gothic *u* in these instances originally appeared in the accus. s. & pl., *-un*, *-uns*, and dat. pl. *-um*, for *-n*, *ns*, *m*, and thence permeated the whole declension. There is a similar "shunting," so to say, of substantives in *þar* (§ 52 *infra*), but in the plural only<sup>2</sup>.—In *u*-adjs. this vowel appears only in the three singular nominatives (§ 57).

40. *Substantives and Adjectives* continued: Stems formed by suffixes involving a single consonant<sup>1</sup>.

(1) *r-* and *l-* suffixes.

(i) *ra*, fem. *rō*, in: *akra-* (m.), "field,"=ἀγρο-, Lat. *agro-*;—*tagra-* (n.), "tear,"=L. *lacri-mā-* (f.), for \**dacru-mā-*, Gr. *δακρυ-*;—*fingra-* (m.), "finger," √*fanh* (*fang*) in *fāhan*, "to take, seize";—*lig-ra* (m.), "a couch, bed," √*lig*, "lie";—*skūrō-* (f.), "a storm of wind" (*shower*<sup>2</sup>);—adjs.: m. & n. *baitra-*, f. *baitrō-*, "bitter";—m. & n. *fagra-*, f. *fagrō-*, "suitable" (*fair*); &c.

(ii) *la*, fem. *lō*, in: *sil-la-* (m.), "seat, throne" (a *settle*),

<sup>2</sup> Brugmann, Stud., IX. 334-337; Osthoff, M.U., I. 130.

<sup>1</sup> The consonants will be taken in the order in which they are given in §§ 27-34; the subjoined vowels are those treated in § 39.

<sup>2</sup> The English words in parentheses are equivalents in *form* to the Gothic; the meaning has often changed.

=L. *sellā-* (f.), for \**sedlā-*, Gr. *ἐδρᾱ-* for \**σεδρᾱ-*;—add: *fugla-* (m.), “bird, fowl,” for \**flugla-*, √*fling*, *flug*, “fly, flee”;—*tagla-* (n.), “a hair” (*tail*);—*hureilō-* (f.) “an hour” (a *while*);—adj.: m. & n. *fūla-*, f. *fūlō-*, “*soul*.”

(iii) *ru*, *lu*, in: *hūhru-* (m.), “*hunger*”;—*wīpru-* (m.), “*lamb*” (*wether*),=Lat. *vit-ulo-*;—adj. in *lu*: m., f., & n. *ag-lu-*, “*hard*,” i. e. “*difficult*.”

(iv) In the foregoing instances the suffix appears to be attached directly to the root; but *la*, *lu* are sometimes preceded by vowels of diverse origin;—examples: *saur-a-lō-* (f.), “*soul*”;—*as-i-lu-* (m.), “*ass*,” (Ger. *Ḩf-ēl*), probably borrowed from the Lat. *as-i-no-* (cf. *kat-i-la-* (m.), “*pot, kettle*,”=L. *cat-i-no*);—adj.: m. & n. *mik-i-la-*, f. *mik-i-lō-*, “*great*,”=Gr. *μεγ-α-λο-*;—*leit-i-la-* and *-lō-*, “*little*”;—*slah-ula-*, and *-lō-*, “*given to striking*”;—*wein-ula-*, and *-lō-*, “*given to wine*” (*ul=l*; but *a* appears for *u* in the by-form *slahala-*).

## (2) *m-* and *n-* suffixes.

(i) *ma* (fem. *mō*), and *mi*; as in: *dōma-* (m.), “*doom, judgment*”;—*hīlma-* (m.), “*helm, helm-et*,” √*hil*, Teut. *hel*, “*cover*”;—*bag-ma-* (m.), “*a tree*”;—*bar-mi-* (m.), “*bosom*”;—*hai-mi-* (f.), “*town, village*” (*-ham, hōme*), of which all the plural is based on the stem *hai-mō-*;—*waúr-mi-* (m.), “*serpent (worm)*,”=Lat. *ver-mi-*;—*mid-u-mō-* (f.), “*midst*,” from *mid-* in the adj. *mid-ja-*, “*mid*.”

(ii) *an* is a very favorite suffix<sup>3</sup>, inherited in not a few instances from primitive times; e. g.: *aúhsan-* (m.), “*ox*,”=Skt. *ukshán-*;—*watan-* (n.), “*water*,”=Skt. *udán-* (with weak √), L. *undā-* for \**ud'n-ā-*;—*guman-*, “*man*,”=L. *homon-*, for \**hemon-*, Eur. base \**ghm-on-*. In other examples we may assume an equally ancient formation even though classical equivalents are wanting; as: *brunnan-* (m.), “*a well, a spring*” (*Brunnen*);—*skulan-* (m.), “*a debtor*”;—*witan-* (m., in compounds), “*one who knows*.” From these the suffix spread to words to which it did not originally belong; as: *augan-* (n.), “*eye*” (cf. Lat. *ocu-lo-*, for \**oquo-lo-* (m.));—*ausan-* (n.), “*ear*” (cf. L. *auri-*, for \**ausi-* (f.)). Newer words were formed on the same pattern; as: *ga-dailan-* (m.), “*a partaker*,” from *daili-* (f.), “*a part*”;—*ga-jukan-* (m.), “*a yoke-fellow*,” from *juka-* (n.), “*a yoke*.” Foreign words are Gothicized by means of this suffix; as: *maimbranan-* (m.), “*a parchment*,”=μεμβρανᾱ- (f.); *faskjan-* (m.), “*a*

<sup>3</sup> On the variations of the suffix and the nature of the *a*, see § 23 *init.* For a thorough investigation of this and the closely-related suffixes, see Osthoff, *Forschungen* II., and especially PBB. III.

bandage," = Lat. *fasciā-* (f.). But, in particular, this suffix is the special characteristic of the consonantal or "definite" or "weak" declension of adjectives (§ 58 *infra*).

(iii) To the ratio  $\frac{a}{an}$  of masculines answers the ratio  $\frac{\bar{o}}{\bar{on}}$  of feminines: thus, *-wardō-* (f.), "a keeper, female *warder*," alternates with *-wardōn-*, beside the masc. *-warda-*, "a warder, keeper";—*-sunnōn-* (f.) and *-sunnan-* (m.), both = "sun";—*-dauwōn-* (f., but plural only), "door," beside *-dauwa-* (n.), "door, gate";—compare also: *-widuwōn-*, "*widow*," with Lat. *viduā-*, for *\*widewā-*, and Skt. *vidhavā-*;—*-tungōn-*, "*tongue*," i. e. "*tung*," with Lat. *linguā-*, O. Lat. *dinguā-*;—*-guinōn-*, "*woman*," with γυνή, Skt. *gnā-* for *\*g<sub>w</sub>nā-*. Add the Gothicized feminines: *-aīkklēsjōn-*, "*church*," = ἐκκλησίᾱ- (f.), and *-aīwangēljōn-*, "*gospel*," = εὐαγγέλιο- (*neut.*). *-ōn* also answers to the masc. *-an* in the fem. of the consonantal declension of adjectives (§ 58).

(iv) Parallel with *ōn* as an extension of *ō* stands the very important fem. suffix *ein* (i. e. *īn*) as an extension of older *ī-* (= *ja-*) stems. Substantives ending in *ein* are mostly abstract feminines closely related to adjectives,—probably in the first instance to *i-* or *ja-* adjs. (whence the *ei*); as in: *-aīrzein-*, "*error*," adj. *-aīrz-ja-*, "*deceived, in error*";—*-frijein-*, "*liberty*," adj. *-frija-*, "*free*";—*-bleiþein-*, "*kindness*," adj. *-bleiþi-*, *-bleiþja-*, "*kind*"; &c.: but afterwards *ein* appears to have been applied, as a simple suffix, to other adj. bases; as: *-braidein-*, "*breadth*," adj. *-braidā-*, "*broad*";—*-managein-*, "*multitude*," adj. *-managa-*, "*many*" (in plur.);—*-naquadein-*, "*nakedness*," adj. *-naquada-*, "*naked*." The other principal positions of *ein* are: (a) in the fem. of the act. ptcp.; as: *-baīrandein-*, "*bearing*," *-gibandein-*, "*giving*," &c. (for the implied *ja* compare the Grk. fem. ptcps. φερουσα-, διδουσα-, i. e., φερουτ-ja-, διδουτ-ja-, &c.);—(b) in all the fems. of the comparative degree of adjs.; as: *-managizein-*, "*more*," &c.;—and (c) in the fem. of the old superlatives in *-man*; as: *-frumein-*, "*first*," &c.: the *ei* in (b) and (c) has not been satisfactorily accounted for. (See §§ 59, 60.)

(v) Noticeable is the uniform appearance of *ō* in the N. & A. s. & pl. of neuters of this formation, both substantive and adjective; as: stem *-aug-an-* (n.), "*eye*," N. & A. s. *-augo*, N. & A. pl. *-augōna*;—weak adj. stem *-blindan-*, "*blind*," N. & A. s. *-blindō*, N. & A. pl. *-blindōna*. This *ō* is the long of prim. *o* = Go. *a*, and is probably the correct vowel (Osthoff, PBB. III. 56 and VIII. 262).

(vi) The Go. infin. suffix *-an* has been referred to the A. s. of an ancient noun-suffix *-ana* preserved in a number of Skt.

verbal substs.; so that Go. *bindan*, "to bind," = Skt. *bāndh-ana-*, " (the act of) binding."

(vii) *na, nō* :—*barna-* (n.), "child," from *baíran*;—*liugna-* (n.), "a lie," from *liugan*, "to lie";—*wēpna-* (n., but pl. only), "weapons";—*aíhna-* (m.), "oven";—*rūnō-* (f.), "a mystery";—*stibnō-* (f.), "voice," (= O.E. *stevan*);—adj. m. & n. *ibna-*, f. *ibnō-*, "even";—m. & n. *swikna-*, f. *swiknō-*, "pure"; and others.

(viii) *ana* is the suffix of the strong-verb passive ptep., = Skt. *āná*; as: *bitana-*, "bitten," = Skt. *bibhidāná-*;—*bugana-*, "bent," = Skt. *bubhugāná-*; &c.

(ix) *ina* is a by-form of the foregoing; thus: *fulgina-* and *ga-fulgina-*, "hidden," from *filhan*, "hide," commonly given as adjs., differ little or nothing in use from pteps.;—so also, as substantives, *aigina-* (n.), "property, possessions," =, *lit.*, "that which is owned," from *aíhan*, "to own, possess";—add: *ragina-* (n.), "counsel, advice";—and *fáirinō-* (f.), "accusation, blame," may be of similar origin.

(x) *eina* is an adj. suffix = Lat. *īno*, and like this denotes material; as: *áirpeina-*, "earthen," from *áirþō-* (f.), "earth";—*gulpeina-*, "golden," from *gulþa-* (n.), "gold";—*leikeina-*, "bodily, carnal," from *leika-* (n.), "body";—*ahmeina-*, "spiritual," from *ahm-*, in *ahm-an-*, "spirit";—so, *gumeina-*, "male," by *gum-an-*, "man," (cf. L. *masculīno-*);—*quineina-*, "female," by *quin-ōn-*, "woman" (cf. L. *feminīno-* by *feminā-*);—and the substs. *sweina-* (n.), "a pig, swine," and *gaiteina-* (n.), "a kid," are properly adjs. from Teut. *\*sū-* (f.), and Go. *gaiti-* (f.), our "sow" and "goat," (cf. Lat. *sū-īno-*, from *sū-s*, and *haed-īno-*, from *haed-us*). The possessives, *meina-*, &c. (§ 63), are similar adjectives based on their related pronominal roots.

(xi) *ni* forms abstract fem. substantives from verbal roots, and a few adjectives; as: *ana-busni-*, "commandment," verb *ana-biudan*, "to command";—*us-beisni-*, "patience," verb *us-beidan*, "to await";—*siuni-*, for *\*sigwní-* (§ 32 (2, v)), "sight, vision," verb *saiþwan*, "to see"; and others:—adjs. *hraini-*, "clean"; *skauni-*, "beautiful"; (*ana-*)*siuni-*, "visible."

(xii) *eini* (f.) is really a composite (§ 37 (3)): substantives formed with it imply verb-stems in *-ja*, and denote actions, just as substantives in *-ein*, related to adjectives, denote qualities; thus, while *hrainein-* denotes "cleanness, purity," (adj.-stem. *hraini-*(*ja-*), "clean, pure,") *hraineini-* denotes "a cleansing," (vb.-stem *hrainja-*, "cleanse, purify.") In fact, *ja*-verbs actually occur alongside nearly all the numerous

substantives in *eini*; as: (infin.) *daupjan*, "to dip, baptize"; *daupeini*-, "a dipping, baptism";—*gōljan*, "to greet"; *gōl-eini*-, "a greeting";—*laisjan*, "to teach"; *laiseini*-, "teaching, doctrine";—*talzjan*, "to instruct, admonish"; *talzeini*-, "instruction, admonition"; &c.

(xiii) Feminines in *aini* and *ōni* are similarly related to verb-stems in *ai* and *ō*; as: *þulai*-, "endure"; *þulaini*-, "endurance";—*laþō*-, "call, invite"; *laþōni*-, "calling, invitation"; &c. (§ 43 (2) below.)

(xiv) *nu* is rare: *sunu*-, "son," = Skt. *sūnu*-,  $\sqrt{su}$ , "beget"; add: *þairnu*- (m.), "thorn"; *quairnu*- (f.), "*quern*, mill"; and *kinnu*- (f.), "cheek" (*chin*).

(3) *w*- and *j*- suffixes:

(i) *wa*, fem. *wō*:—*aiwa*- (m.), "time, duration," = Lat. *aevo*- (n.), Grk. *αἰών* for \**aiFōn* (m. & f.);—*alēwa*- (n.), "oil," = L. *olivo*-, G. *ἐλαιο*- for \**ēlaiFo*-;—*heiwa*-, "house," akin to *hai*-mi-, "house, home";—*fraiwa*- (n.), "seed";—*nidwō*- (f.), "rust";—*tailswō*- (f.), "the right hand";—adj., m. & n. *triggwa*-, f. *triggwō*-, "*true*, faithful"; and others.

(ii) *wi* occurs in the duplicate stem *aiwi* = *aiwa*- (See above);—in *nawi*-, N. s. *naus*, "a dead man, a corpse";—and the adj. *alēwi*-, "olive, of-olives":—*wu*, in *manwu*- (adj.), "ready";—and \**glaggwu*-, "careful, accurate," implied in the adv. *glaggwuba*.

(iii) *ja*, fem. *jō*; *lēkja*- (m.), "physician," (O.E. *leech*); *kunja*- (n.), "generation, race," = Lat. *genio*- in form and *genes*- in meaning;—*bandjō*- (f.), "band, bond," from *bindan*-, "to bind";—adj., m. & n. *midja*-, f. *midjō*-, "*mid*." So, Go. *haljō*- (f.), "*hell*";—*badja*- (n.), "*bed*";—*fanja*- (n.), "*clay*, mud, (*fen*)";—*natja*- (n.), "*net*";—*basja*- (n.), "*berry*"; and many more.

(iv) *ju* occurs in *drunju*- (m.), "sound, noise"; *stubju*- (m.), "dust" (Ger. *Staub*); and *waddju*- (f.), "wall."

(4) *s*-(*z*)-suffixes:

(i) An important prim. suffix was of the form *es*, *os*<sup>4</sup> (=Skt. *as*, Grk. *es*, *os*, Lat. *es* (*er*), *us*). The substantives formed by this suffix were neuters, and the accent fell on the root-syllable; hence, in Teutonic, the suffixal *s* became *z* (§ 30 (2, ii)); but in actual declension these *es*-(*ez*)-stems were attracted to the prevalent pattern,—that namely of the *a*-subst., so that the suffix became the composite *-eza*-, Go. *-iza*-. Examples: *aiza*-, for \**ajiza*-, "copper," ∴ "money,"

<sup>4</sup> See the elaborate investigation of Brugman in KZ., XXIV. 1-99.

= Lat. *aes* for *\*ajes-*;—*\*bariza-*, “barley,” (got from the adj. *bariz-eina-*, “made of barley,”) = Lat. *far-r-*, gen. *far-r-is* for *\*far’z-is*;—*swartiza-*, “ink,” from *swarta-*, “black”;—*hatiza-*, “wrath, hat-r-ed,” from *hatap-*, “to hate”;—*ahsa-* for *\*ahiza-*, “ear (of corn),” = O. Lat. *acer-*, gen. *acer-is* for *\*accz-is*, “husk, chaff”;—*riqūiza-*, “darkness” = ἑ-ρεβερ-.—After evanition of the secondary suffix *a* in the N. & A. sing., the *z* left as a final should, and generally did, become *s* (§ 30 (2, iv)); but the *z* of the oblique cases sometimes ousted the *s* from those two cases (as in *riqūiz. aiz*, &c.); more frequently, however, the *s* penetrated into the oblique cases; as in all the extant instances of *agi-sa-*, “fear, awe”; *rimisa-*, “quietness”; *sigisa-*, “victory”; and a few others. In *ahsa-* (cited above), *weihsa-*, “town, village,” and *peihsa-*, “time, the age,” the *i* has vanished after *h*.

(ii) The *is* (*iz*) of comparative adverbs (*hauhis*, “more highly”) and adjectives (stem *hauhiz-an-*, fem. *hauhiz-ein-*) is a compression of the prim. suffix *-jes*, *-jos* (*-ios*). In advs. the *i* might be expected to disappear (§ 35 (2, iii)), as it actually does in *mins*, “less,” *wairs*, “worse,” and one or two more. Paul, Sievers, and others, therefore, hold that the fuller adverbial form, in *-is*, is due to assimilation to the compar. adjs.<sup>6</sup>—The compar. form *-ōz-an* (*blindōz-an*, “blinder,” &c.), attributed by some to fusion of *-jos* with the stem-vowel of the positive, is by Mahlow and J. Schmidt (KZ. XXVI. 390) with great probability asserted to be based on compar. advs. in *-ōs* (*-ōz*), pos. *-ō* (e.g., *sniumundōs*, “more hastily,” pos. *sniumundō*, hastily); i. e., *-ōz-an* and *-ōs* stand parallel to *-iz-an* and *-is*.

(iii) *sa*, fem. *sō*: only in the possessive adj. *swēsa-*, “one’s own,” related to the prim. reflexive pron. *\*swe-*, Lat. *se*, Grk. ἑ.

(iv) In *ssa*, the *ss* comes from two dental mutes (§ 30 (1, iii)).

<sup>6</sup> More properly speaking, this suffix shows triple gradation *-ōs* (*-ōs*), *-es* (Go. *-is*, *-iz*), and *-s*; of which forms Latin and Greek show the first and second (L. *gen-us*, for *-os*, G. s. *gen-er-is*, for *-ez-is*; Grk. γέν-ος, G. s. γέν-ους, for *\*γεν-εσ-os*); and Gothic the second and third, as in the instances cited above. But an *o*-form appears in the A-S. *siȝ-or*, “victory,” = Go. *sig-is*; and in Gothic itself prim. *o* in one or two words appears to have been darkened to *u* (cf. Lat. *gen-us*), and the words seem then to have been shunted on to the *u*-declension; as in *siȝ-us* (m.), “habit, manners,” = ἑθός for *\*σφέθος*; and in *sihu* (n.), a gloss on *sigis* (Cor. I. xv. 55),—a somewhat doubtful form however. Compare also *juk-uz-jō-* in § 41 (4, xii).—See Paul in PBB. VI. 187–8, and Kremer in VIII. 387–389.

<sup>6</sup> PBB. IV. 414, and V. 111. For a parallel example see note <sup>2</sup> to § 35.

(5) Suffixes involving *guttural* mutes :

(i) *qua*, *quu*, in: *wraiqua*-, "crooked," = *ῥαιβο*- for \**ῥαυγο*-;—*ῥlaquu*-, "tender";—*hnasquu*-, "soft, delicate" (O.E. *nesht*).

(ii) *ka*, *ki*, in: *ibuka*- (adj.), "backward," (*ib*- by-form of *ab*, *af*);—*ahaki*- (f.), "a pigeon."

(iii) *ha*, fem. *hō*, like Grk. -*κο* and Lat. -*co*, forms adjectives: it is nearly always preceded by *a* (by *i*, as in Grk. and Lat., -*ικο*-, -*ico*-, only in the obscure word *pariha*- (adj.?) "new, unfulled [cloth]" (§ 26 (8, iii) above)): this -*a* may be taken as the stem-vowel of the base; e. g.: *stainaha*-, "stony," from *staina*- (m.), "stone";—*un-barnaha*-, "childless," from *barna*- (n.), "child";—*ainaha*-, "only," from *aina*-, "one," (cf. Lat. *unico*- from *uno*-), with its fem. *ainō-hō* (as if formed independently on the fem. stem *ainō*-).—The *h* in these and similar instances implies, by Verner's rules (§ 31), that the words were once paroxytone; but Grk. words in -*ικό*-s are uniformly oxytone; and this was probably the prevalent, although not the only, primitive accentuation<sup>7</sup>: accordingly, in a majority of instances this suffix appears in Gothic in the form of—

(iv) *ga*; as: *audaga*-, "blesséd"; *wainaga*-, "wretched";—*managa*- "much, (in pl.) many";—*mōd-aga*-, "angry (moody)"; &c.:—*handuga*-, "wise" (orig. perhaps "dexterous"), from *handu*- (f.), "hand," still shows the *u* of its base; in other instances *u* has given place to the prevalent *a*; as in *grēdaga*-, "hungry" (*greedy*), from *grēdu*- (m.), "hunger";—*wulþaga*-, "glorious," from *wulþu*- (m.), "glory."

(v) Adjectives from *i*-substs. might similarly be expected to show -*iga*, or -*aga*: they actually show -*eiga* (i. e. *īga*); as: *mahteiga*-, "able, mighty," from *mahti*- (f.), "power, might";—*ansteiga*-, "gracious," from *ansti*- (f.), "grace";—*listeiga*-, "crafty," from *listi*- (f.), "craft." The attempts to explain the *ei* in such instances<sup>8</sup> are all more or less questionable. Other adjs. in -*eiga* are based directly or indirectly upon *ja*-stems; as: *gawairþeiga*-, "peaceable," from *ga-wairþja*- (n.), "peace": these mostly run parallel to fem. substs. in -*ein* and -*eini*; e. g.: *usbeisneiga*-, "patient," by *usbeisnein*-, "patience," (from *usbeidan*-, "to endure");—*laiseiga*-, "apt-to-teach," by *laiseini*-, "teaching, doctrine," (from *laisjan*-, "to teach");—*þiuþeiga*-, "good, blesséd," by *þiuþeini*-, "blessing, bounty," (from *þiuþjan*-, "to bless").

<sup>7</sup> Or *h* and *g* may be due to accent-shifting in the course of declension. (See Paul, Beitr. VI. 545, and compare the *þ* and *d* in (6, iv) below.)

<sup>8</sup> As by Schleicher, Compendium, § 111; L. Meyer, G.S., § 466; Paul, PBB. VI. 546-6.



In such instances *ei* correctly stands for *ja*, or, sometimes, *i*; and it is possible that *-eiga*, having originated in this way, may have penetrated the series of adjectives from *i*-substantives. Noticeable, however, is *gabiga-* (the only word with *i*) beside the less frequent *gabeiga-*, "rich," (the subst. is *gabein-*, "riches," vb. *giban*, "to give.")—The only *subst.* of this termination is the abstract *idreigō-* (f.), "repentance"; but the adj. *sineiga-*, "old" (cf. Lat. *senec-*), is used with a concrete sense, "an old man, an elder."

(6) Suffixes involving *dental* mutes :

(i) *ta*, *ti*, *tu* occur almost always in combination with a preceding *h*, *s*, *f*. The clusters *ht*, *st*, *ft* may come from the primitive clusters *kt*, *tt*, *pt*, &c. (§ 33 (1)). The *s* of *st*, however, may also of course be radical; as in: *fralusti-* (f.), "perdition," from *fra-liusan*, "to lose";—*ganisti-* (f.), "salvation," from *ga-nisan*, "to be saved";—*kustu-* (m.), "proof, test," from *kiusan*, "to test." In *asta-* (m.), "a branch," *t* is correctly = prim. *d*; cf. Grk. ὄζο- for \*οοδο-. The exceptional instances (where *ta*, *ti*, *tu* follow a vowel or sonant) are very few; as: *azēta-*, "easy," (of unknown origin);—*salta-* (n.), "salt" (with accretive *t*);—*andanumti-* (f.), "acceptation," where *t* is probably for *d* (verb *andniman*, "to accept");—*kintu-* (m.), "a farthing" ("a cent"?).

The correct Gothic forms of the prim. suffixes *ta*, *ti*, *tu* are: *pa* (*da*), fem. *pō* (*dō*); *pi* (*di*); *pu* (*du*).

(ii) *pa*, fem. *pō*: *aipa-* (m.), "an oath";—*munpa-* (m.), "mouth";—*wairpa-* (m.), "worth";—*gulpa-* (n.), "gold";—*hliupa-* (n.), "attention, silence," cf. Lat. *clu-ere* = κλύειν, "to hear";—*airpō-*, "earth";—*sleipō-*, "loss, injury." Most fem. substantives in *-pō* are based on adj. stems; but for the various primary stem-vowels *i* always appears; e. g.: *unhrainipō-*, "uncleanness," from *un-hraini-*, "unclean";—*diupipō-*, "depth," from *diupa-*, "deep";—*hauhipō-*, "height," from *hauha-*, "high";—*manwipō-*, "readiness," from *manwu-*, "ready";—and, similarly, *i* for *ja*, in *fairnipō-*, "oldness," from *fairnja-*, "old"; but in *niujiipō-*, "newness," *j* is preserved, as it is throughout the declension of the adj. *niuja-*, "new."

(iii) *da* (*dō*), for *pa* (*pō*), by the accentual exception (§§ 31 (3) and 33 (2, iii)), is more especially the distinctive suffix of the past ptecp. of weak verbs; as in: m. & n. *nasida-* (f. *-dō-*), "saved";—m. & n. *liugaida-* (f. *-dō-*), "married";—m. & n. *salbōda-* (f. *-dō-*), "anointed"; &c., &c. Among

\* I. e., according to Leo Meyer's suggestion that *kintu-* is the Lat. *cento-*.

substs. occur *þindō-* (f.), "people, folk"; and *muldō-* (f.), "dust, mould."

(iv) In a few adjectives *þ* or *d* may appear in Go., against a W. Teut. *d* only; e. g., *þ* in *daupā-* = Engl. "*dēad*";—*-falþa-* = "*-fold*," as in *ain-falþa-*, lit. "one-fold," i. e. "simple";—but *d* in *wunda-* = "*wound-ed*." This fluctuation is probably due to a prim. shifting of the accent, which in the course of inflexion sometimes rested on the root (giving Teut. *þ*) and sometimes on the suffix (giving *d*). One of the two (say *þ*) permeated all the cases in one dialect, and the other (*d*) in another.

(v) *þi* and *di* similarly interchange according to the former (but not always the original) position of the accent; e. g.: (*ga-*)*quumþi-*<sup>10</sup>, "a coming (together), an assembly," from *quiman*, "to come," = Skt. *gāti-*, "a going," Grk. *βάσι-*, Lat. *venti(ōn-)*, from *venīre*;—*dulþi-*, "feast," = Skt. *dhṛti-*, "joy"?—so, *ga-baurþi-* "birth";—*naupi-* (but *naudi-* in various compounds), "need"; and two or three more. But in (*ga-*)*mundi-*, "remembrance," = Skt. *matī-*, "thought," Lat. *menti-*, "mind," the *d*, the weak root, and the accented suffix, are all in harmony. Similar are: *ga-hugdi-*, "mind, conscience";—*mitadi-*, "measure";—*-dēdi-* (in compounds), "*deed*";—*-sēdi-* (in comp.), "*seed*"; and others. All these are fem.

(vi) *þu* and *du* also similarly interchange; as: *daupu-*, "death," from *\*diwan* (pret. *\*dau*), "to die";—*wulþu-*, "glory";—but *wratōdu-*, "a journey," from *wratōn*, "to travel";—*auhjōdu-*, "noise," from *auhjōn*, "to make a noise";—add: *skildu-*, "*shield*";—*flōdu-*, "flood";—*skadu-*, "shadow": these are all masc. In the fem. *handu-*, "*hand*," akin to *hinþan*, "to seize," the *d* probably belongs to the root.

(vii) *da*, f. *dō*, is normally = prim. *dho*, *dhā*: the chief examples (*waúrda-*, "*word*"; *gazda-*, "*sting*"; *huzda-*, "*treasure*"; *razdō-*, "*speech, dialect*"; and *mizdō-n-*, "*pay, reward*") have been investigated in § 33 (3);—add the adjs.: *kalda-*, "*cold*," and *naquada-*, "*naked*," (cf. Lat. *gelido-* and *nudo-*).

(7) There is no certain instance in Gothic, of a simple noun-suffix involving any labial mute. (But see § 42 (3).)

41. *Substantives and Adjectives*, continued.—Stems formed by suffixes involving two or more consonants. Such suffixes

<sup>10</sup> The *um* = *m* (as also the *a* = *m* of Skt. and Grk.) shows that the radical syllable was originally weak.

are all probably compounds; and many of the components will be recognized as simple suffixes already treated of in the preceding section<sup>1</sup>.

(1) *r* or *l* in first component:

(i) *arja* forms masc. substs. denoting agents; as: *laisarja*- "teacher," from *laisjan*, "to teach"; some such words, based on simpler substantives, are professional names; as: *bōkarja*-, "scribe," from *bōkō*- (f.), "letter," in plur. "book";—*wull-arja*-, "fuller," from *wullō*- (f.), "wool." But *wangarja*-, "pillow," is neuter.

(ii) *arna* in *eisarna*- (n.), "iron."

(iii) *ran* (f. *rōn*, *rein*): *swaihran*-, "father-in-law," (Lat. *socero*-); *swaihrōn*-, "mother-in-law";—*mundrein*- (f.), "a mark, goal."

(iv) *rana*: *akrana*- (n.), "fruit," from *akra*- (§ 10 (1, i)).

(v) *rja* (n.): *ga-ligrja*-, "a lying-with," (Lat. *con-cubitu*-); from *ligan*, "to lie";—*filigrja*-, "a cave, den," from *filhan*, "to hide."

(vi) *lan*, f. *lōn*, forms deminutives; as: *barnilan*- (n.), "a little child," from *barna*- (n.), "child";—*magulan*- (m.), "a little boy," from *magu*- (m.), "boy, servant";—*mawilōn*- (f.), "damsel," from *mawjō*- (f.), nom. *mawi*, "maid."

(vii) *ljan*: *sigljan*- (n.), "a seal"; which implies a simpler \**sigla*- (n.) = Lat. *signo*- (cf. *asilu*-, &c., § 40 (1, iv)).

(viii) *linga*- (m.): *gadilinga*-, "nephew";—*skillinga*-, "shilling." (See *inga* below.)

(2) *m* or *n* in first component:

(i) *man* (f. *mōn*): *naman*- (n.), "name," = Skt. *nāman*-, Lat. *nōmen*-;—*blōman*- (m.), "a flower (bloom)," where *blō* = *flō*- in Lat. *flō-s*;—*ahman*- (m.), "spirit," vb. *ah-jan*, "to think";—*klismōn*- (f.), "a cymbal," vb. *klis-m-jan*, "to tinkle."

(ii) But *man* with fem. *mein* is the suffix of a small group of ancient superlatives (§ 59 (3)),—e. g.: *fruman*-, *frumein*-. (See also *-duman*, in (6, xiii) below.)

(iii) *munjō* (f.) occurs in *lauhmunjō*-, "lightning," which implies a simpler base \**lauhmun*- = Lat. *lūmen*-, for \**loucmen*-.

(iv) *munda*: only in the adj. \**sniumunda*-, "swift, hasty," implied in the adv. *sniumundō*, "hastily," from *snīwan* (i. e. \**snīuan*, § 26 (10, ii)), "to hasten," or more immediately from a stem *snium*-, given in the derived verb *sniumjan*, "to hasten": (*-mun-da-* is exactly = Lat. *-men-to-*, and nearly = Grk. *-μα-τ-* for *-μη-τ-*.)

<sup>1</sup> The order of treatment will follow that of the initial components.

(v) *anda* (in nom. s. masc.), with its *n*-extension *andan*, f. *andein*, (in all other cases,) is the suffix of the present or active ptp. of all verbs: the simpler *and* appears in a number of old participial forms that are used as substantives masc.; as: *giband-*, "giver";—*nasjand-*, "saviour"; &c., &c. See §§ 52 (2) and 60 (1) below.

(vi) *anōn* only in *gamaitanōn-* (f.), "concision";—*-an-* belongs to the past ptp. on which the subst. is based.

(vii) *undja* (f. *jō*), extended by *n* in *undjan*, shows the weak form of the ptpial suffix *and*; the instances are: *hulundjō-* (f.), "a cave," from (*us-*)*hulōn*, "to excavate";—*þūsundjō-* (f.), "thousand";—and *nēhwundjan-* (m.), "neighbour," from *nēhw*, *nēhwa*, "*nigh*."

(viii) *inassu* (m.), probably = *in* + *at* + *tu*. The *in* is got immediately from secondary verbs, but ultimately from weak substantives upon which such verbs might be formed; e. g.: *frauþinassu-*, "dominion," vb. *frauþinōn*, "to rule," from *frauþjan-* (*-þin-*), "lord, master";—*gudþinassu-*, "priesthood," vb. *gudþinōn*, "to act as priest," from *gudþjan-* (*-þin-*), "priest." In some instances the intermediate verb leads to an *a*- or *i*- or other subst.; as: *draúhtinassu-*, "warfare," vb. *draúhtinōn*, "to war," subst. (*ga-*)*drauhti-* (m.), "warrior";—*skalkinassu-*, "bondage," vb. *skalkinōn*, "to serve," subst. *skalka-* (m.), "servant, slave";—*lēkinassu-*, "healing," vb. *lēkinōn*, "to heal," from *lēkja-*, "physician, leech"; but *þiudinassu-*, "kingship, reign," vb. *þiudanōn*, "to be king, reign," leads to a subst. in *-ana-*, viz. *þiudana-*, "king." In the case of *ibnassu-*, "equality," from *ibna-* (adj.), "*even*, equal," the *n* belongs to the adj., and the proper intermediate vb. is not extant in Gothic<sup>2</sup>; nor is there anything between *blōtinassu-*, "worship," and the verb *blōtan*, "to worship." The simpler suffix *assu* occurs apart from *n*, *in*, *þin*, only in *ufarassu-*, "superiority, excess," from *ufar*, "*over*." Our suffix *-ness* is a variety of the above conglomerate.

(ix) *inga*: adj. *\*unwēninga-*, "unexpected," implied in *unwēningō*, "unexpectedly"; and *skillinga-* (m.), "shilling."

(x) *nan* (m.), *nōn* (f.): *drōbnan-*, "tumult";—*haiþnōn-*, "*heathen* woman";—*stairnōn-*, "*star*," extended from a simpler *\*sternō-* (cf. Lat. *stellā* for *ster*'lā-); a yet simpler base appears in Grk. *ἀ-στερ-*, Skt. *stár-*.

(3) *w* or *j* in first component:

(i) *wan*, *wōn*: *sparwan-* (m.), "*sparrow*";—*smakkan-*

<sup>2</sup> But O.H.G. *ebanōn*.—It may be added that K. von Bahder makes the *-at-* in *-assu-* the same as the *-at-* in *-atjan* (§ 43 (2, i, 8) below): beside *ibnassu*, therefore, he constructs a verb *\*ibnatjan*. ("Verbalabstracta," 115.)

for \**smakwan-* (m.), "fig";—*peihwōn-* (f.), "thunder";—*bandwōn-* (f.), "a sign," extended from *bandwō-*, which also occurs.

(ii) *wōd*, in *weitwōd-* (m.), "a witness," which is generally explained as the remains of an old perf. ptep. act. = Grk. εἰδώς for \**Feδῥώς*, G. εἰδότης.

(iii) *jan* gives masc. substs. denoting agents; as: *fiskjan-*, "fisher," from *fiska-* (m.), "a fish";—*lingjan-*, "liar," from *liugna-* (n.), "a lie";—*waúrswjan-*, "labourer," from *waúrswa-* (n.), "work"; and many others;—*jan*, as neut., occurs only in *sigljan-* (See (1, vii) above);—the corresponding fem., *jōn*, occurs in: *sakjōn-*, "strife," from *sakan*, "to strive";—*brunjōn-*, "breastplate"; and several more.

(iv) For *eini*, *eiga*, = *jani*, *jaga*, see § 40 (2) and (5).

(v) *jana*, only in *atjana-* (n.), "zeal."

(vi) For *is* (= *-jos*) and *-jōdu*, see § 40 (4) and (6).

(4) *s* (*z*) in first component:

(i) *assu*: See *inassu*, in (2) above.

(ii) *izan*, *ōzan*, in comparative of adjs.: See § 40 (4, ii).

(iii) *izwō* (f.), only in *ubizwō-*, "porch," (prop. "projection of roof,") = A-S. *efese*, Engl. *eaves* (which is ∴ not really a plural): *ub* is probably the prep. *uf* (*ub*), "under," and *iz* perhaps the neuter *s-* suffix (§ 40 (4, ii)).

(iv) *izjō* only in *aquizjō-* (f.), "axe."

(v) *iska* (= Engl. *ish*, Germ. *iŝh*) forms adjectives from substantives; as: *barniska-*, "childish," from *barna-* (n.), "child";—*gudiska-*, "divine," from *guda-*, "God"; and others. In *iudaiwiska-*, "Jewish," from *Iudaiu-*, "Judean, Jew," the *w* is for *u*. *haiṑiwiska-*, "wild," prop. "growing or found in the wilderness or fields," from *haiṑjō-* (f.), "field, heath," implies an intermediate form \**haiṑiwa-* (*wō*?). The subst. *atiska-* (n.), "cornfield," was once probably an adjective.

(vi) *iskja* (i. e., *isk* extended by *ja*) forms neut. substs.; as: *aiwiskja-*, "shame," and *barniskja-*, "childhood."

(vii) *ista*, *ōsta*, = Engl. *-est*, is the usual suffix of superlative adjectives; as: *suti-*, "sweet," superl. *sutista-*, "sweetest" (cf. Grk. ἡδύ-, ἡδ-ιστο-);—*arma-*, "miserable," superl. *armōsta-*; &c., &c.: the *is-*, *ōs-* is identical with the *iz*, *oz* of the comparative degree (§ 40 (4, ii)).

(viii) *istja*, = the superl. suffix + *ja*, forms two extant neut. substs.; viz.: *hawhistja-*, "the highest height"; and *frumistja-*, "the beginning."

(ix) *sla*, *zla* forms the neut. substs.: *swumsla-* (sometimes spelt *swumfsla-*), "a pool," from \**swimman*, "to swim";—

*hunsla*-, "a sacrifice"<sup>3</sup>;—*skōhsla*-, "evil spirit";—*swartizla*-, "ink," another reading of *swartiza*- (§ 40 (4, i) above)<sup>4</sup>: of this suffix the H.G. -*ſal* is a by-form (in *trībſal*, &c.).

(x) *skuldra*: See (5, ii) below.

(xi) *usjō* in *bērusjōs*, "parents" (N. pl. *masc.*), corresponds exactly to the composite suffix (\*-*úσ-jā*-, N. s. -*vîa*) of the Greek pf. ptp. *fem.*; *us*, *υσ* are weak to *was*, *Fos* (cf. *εἰδώς*, stem *Fid-Fos*-), and *bēr* is the pf. stem of *baíran*, "to bear" (§ 24 (3)). The Go. word may once have been a *fem.* (as indeed its derivation suggests); but in Lith. and Slav. also *us-ja*- has penetrated the *m.* and *n.* of the ptp., and a *masc.* form (*ιδυῖαι*) has even been discovered in Grk.<sup>5</sup>

(xii) *uzjō*, in *jukuzjō*- (*f.*), "a yoke" (*fig.*), from *juka*- (*n.*), is a different suffix from the preceding, and is related to *izjō* in (iv) above, just as -*us* (-*uz*) is to -*is* (-*iz*). See note<sup>5</sup> to § 40.

(xiii) *sama*, in the adj. *lustusama*-, "desired, longed-for," from *lustu*- (*m.*), "desire," is probably = our -*some* ("toil-some," &c.), Ger. -*ſam* (*müſſ-ſam*, &c.), and is akin to *same*, Go. *saman*-, not to *some*, Go. *suma*-.

(xiv) *snō*, *znō* (*f.*): *filusnō*-, "multitude, abundance," from *filu*-, "much";—*hlaiwasnō*-, "tomb" (occurs in pl. only), from *hlaiwa*- (*n.*), of same meaning;—*drauhsnō*-, "a fragment, crumb";—*faírnō*-, "heel," = Lat. *perná*-, Grk. *πέπνᾶ*- and *πτέπνᾶ*-, I-E. base \**persnā*-;—*arhwaznō*-, "dart, arrow," from Teut. \**arhwa*-, "arrow," which is (in *form*) = the O.Lat. *arco*-, later *arcu*-, "bow."

(xv) In *sni* (*f.*) of *ana-busni*-, "a command," from *ana-biudan*-, "to command," and *us-beisni*-, "long-suffering," from *usbeidan*-, "to endure," the *s* represents a radical *d*: *sni* in the obscure words *ga-rēhsni*-, "design, counsel," and *rōhsni*-, "palace," is probably formed on this pattern. (See xix.)

(xvi) *snja* (*n.*) occurs only in *fulhsnja*-, "secrecy, concealment," from *filhan*-, "to hide": it appears to be an extension of *sni*.

(xvii) *sta*, *sti*, *stu*: *gramsta*- (*m.*), "a chip, splinter," a "mote" in the eye (perhaps ∴ from *gramjan*-, "to irritate");—*ansti*- (*f.*), "grace," from Teut. *an*-, "I grant," infin. *unnan*;—*ala-brunsti*- (*f.*), "a holocaust," from *brinnan*-, "to burn";—*maíhstu*- (*m.*), "dung, dungheap"; and others. (See xix.)

(xviii) *stein*, in *pramstein*- (*f.*), "locust."

<sup>3</sup> =A-S. *hūsel*, "a sacrifice," and, in christian times, "the sacrament": cf. Shakspeare's "un-house'l'd" (*Hamlet*).

<sup>4</sup> On this suffix, see Osthoff in PBB. III. 335; Forschungen, I. 190; and Paul, PBB. VI. 138.

<sup>5</sup> Brugman in KZ. XXIV. 81, 83, 93.

(xix) *stwa* in *waúrhstwa-* (n.), "work," for \**waúrhst-twa-*, a secondary derivative from *waúrkjan*, "to work." (The simpler derivatives *waúrhti-* (f.) and *waúrhta-* (adj.) frequently occur in compounds.)—This example (See also (xv), (xx)) clearly shows how the *s* of a composite suffix may really be traceable to a dental before another dental (§ 33 (1, iii)). Such a form of suffix is also simulated when a root, followed by a *t*-suffix, ended in a genuine *s*; as in *kustu-* (m.), "proof, test," vb. *kíus-an*, "to prove, test";—*usdrusti-* (f.), "a stumbling-place," prop. "a falling," vb. *dríus-an*, "to fall";—*wahstu-* (m.), "stature," prop. "growth," vb. *wahs-jan*, "to grow." It is to the influence of such patterns that the *s* of *sta*, *sti*, *stu*, *stein*, *snō*, &c., is probably in many instances due.

(xx) *stra*<sup>6</sup> (n.): in *gilstra-*, "tax, tribute," from (*us-*) *gildan*, "to pay," *s* is again from *d* (cf. Lat. *rastro-*, *roastro-*, from *rādere*, *rōdere*; &c.);—but *hulistra-*, "veil," is from the verb *huljan*, "to hide" (cf. Lat. *lustrō-*, *monstrō-*, from *luere*, *monere*; &c.). This suffix is properly applicable only to a verb-base; but in *awistra-*, "sheep-fold," from \**awi-* = Lat. *ovi-*, "sheep,"—and in \**nawistra-*, "grave, tomb," (implied in the verb *ga-nawistrōn*, "to bury,") from *nawi-*, nom. *naus*, "a dead man, a corpse,"—the base is a subst.; but as to these Osthoff (note <sup>6</sup>) suggests that they are contractions of compounds \**awi-wistra-*, \**nawi-wistra-*; where \**wistra-* would denote "resting-place," from the vb. *wisan*, "to dwell, remain, rest."

(xxi) *stja* only in *traustja-* (n.), "covenant," from *trauan*, "to trust."

(5) *A guttural* in the first component:

(i) *ikna* (or *kna*?): *kēlikna-* (n.), "a tower, an upper room."  
 (ii) *kla*: only in the adj. *ainakla-*, "alone, solitary," (cf. Lat. *sin-gulo-*). *kl* is perhaps a weak form, which before consonants should appear as *kul* (= *kl*): *kul*, extended by *dra* (See (6, iii) below), appears in the perplexing word *spais-kuldra-* (n.), "spittle," from *speiwan*, "to spit." The interior *s* is here probably adventitious, as it does not appear in the O.S. *spē-caldra-*, and O.H.G. *spei-choltra*<sup>7</sup>.

(iii) *agwan*: only in *bidagwan-* (m.), "beggar," from *bid-jan*, "to beg," probably through an intermediate adj. \**bidaga-*, "begging."

(iv) *han* occurs in the m. plur. subst. *brōþra-hans*, "brethren," probably extended from an adj. in *ha* (§ 40 (5, iii)).

<sup>6</sup> This suffix has been specially investigated by Osthoff in KZ. XXIII. 313-333.

<sup>7</sup> Sievers in PBB. V. 523-4.

(v) *hun*, probably<sup>8</sup> = *cun* in Lat. *-cunque*, forms some indefinite pronouns. (See § 68 (2).)

(vi) *hna* occurs in the distributive numeral *twei hna* = Lat. *bīno*; i. e., *\*duwīno*, "two each"; the *h* is remarkable.

(6) A *dental* in the first component:

(i) *t* in composite suffixes, as, generally, in simple ones (§ 40 (6, i)), appears only in combination with a spirant; examples: *waúrswan-* and *waúrswjan-*, "workman" (See *stwa* in (4, xix) above);—*wahtwōn-* (f.), "a watching," from *wakan*, "to wake, watch";—*wastjō-* (f.), "garment," from *wasjan*, "to clothe";—*hwōftuljō-* (f.), "boasting," from *hwōpan*, "to boast";—*aftuman-*, "aftermost," from adv. *afta*, "behind." The correct Gothic equivalents of prim. *t*-suffixes show *þ* or *d*; as in:

(ii) *þar*, *dar*: *brōþar* = Lat. *frāter*;—*faðar* = *pater*, Skt. *pitár*;—(but *daúhtar* = Skt. *duhitár* by (i)).

(iii) *þra* (f. *þrō*), *dra*<sup>9</sup>: *maúrþra-* (n.), "murder," cf. Lat. *morti*;—*smaúrþra-* (n.), "fat";—*fōðra-* (n.), "sheath, scabbard";—*hleiprō-* (f.), "tent"; and others.

(iv) *prahan* in *brōþrahans*: See (5, iv) above.

(v) *þrjan*, i. e. *þra + ja + an*, in (*mana-*)*maúrþrjan-* (m.), "manslayer, murderer."

(vi) *drein*: *mundrein-* (f.), "a mark, object, goal," vb. *mundōn*, "to note, observe," from *munan*, "to intend."

(vii) *þla*, *þlō*: *maþla-* (n.), "market-place" (prop. "place of intercourse," vb. *maþljan*, "to converse");—*nēþlō-* (f.), "needle," √*nē*, Lat. *nēre*, "to sew."

(viii) *þlja* (=the preceding, extended by *ja*): *haimōþlja-* (n.), "land, estate," from (*haimi-*) *haimō-* (f.), "village, (home)";—*faúra-maþlja-* (n.), "governorship"; but also *faúra-maþlja-* (m.), "governor."

(ix) *pleini*: *maþleini-* (f.), "talk, conversation": See *maþla-*, in (vii) above.

(x) (*þwa*) *þwō*, *dwa*: *fijaþwō-* (f.), "enmity," from *fijan*, "to hate";—*þiwadwa-* (n.), "servitude," from *þiwa-*, nom. *þius*, "servant, slave."

(xi) *þja* (= *ga-minþja-* (n.), "remembrance," vb. *gamunan*, "to remember";—*awēþja-* (n.), "sheepfold," also "flock," from *\*awi-*, "sheep";—*framaþja-* (adj.), "alien, foreign" (*fremb*), from prep. *fram*).

(xii) *þjōn*, *djōn* (f.): *raþjōn-*, "number, reckoning," = Lat.

<sup>8</sup> Notwithstanding the contrary opinion of Scherer and Bezzenberger. See Paul, PBB. IV. 387.

<sup>9</sup> This suffix is investigated by Sievers in PBB. V. 519–538; see also Osthoff, Forsch. I., and the Krit. Studien of Ascoli (Merzdorf).



*ration-*,  $\sqrt{ra}$ , *rē*, "think";—*mitadjōn-*, from the simpler *mitadi-*, "a measure," vb. *mitan*, "to measure."

(xiii) *duman*: *hleiduman-*, "left-hand" (adj.); *\*hinduman-*, "hinder" (See (2, ii) above).

(xiv) *dupi* (f.) = Lat. *tūt* (i), in *senectūt*(i)-, &c.: *ajukdupi-*, "eternity," from an adj. *\*ajuka-*, "eternal," and this from *aiwa-* (§ 29 (2, iv));—*ga-maindupi-*, "communion," from *ga-maini-* = Lat. *com-muni-*;—*managdupi-*, "abundance," from *managa-*, "much, (pl.) many";—*mikildupi-*, "greatness," from *mikila-*, "great": these are all.—This suffix is = *du* + *þi* (§ 40 (6, v)); and the accent was once on the *u* (§ 31 (3)).

(7) A labial in the first component:

(i) Here falls the remarkable composite *ubnja* or *ufnja*, which appears (α) in the four neuters—*fastubnja-*, "a keeping, observing," from *fastan*<sup>10</sup>, "to hold, keep";—*fastubnja-*, "a fasting," from *fastan*<sup>10</sup>, "to fast";—*waldufnja-*, "power, authority," from *waldan*, "to rule, govern";—*witubnja-*, "knowledge," from *witan*, "to know";—and (β) in the two feminines: *fraistubnjō-*, "temptation," from *fraisan*, "to tempt" (so that this subst. also embodies a *t*-suffix);—*wundufnjō-*, "a wounding, a plague," from (*ga*-)*wundōn*, "to wound"<sup>11</sup>. As there is no simple labial noun-suffix (§ 40 (7)), the difficulty is to account for the syllable *ub* (*uf*), *nja* being made up of well-known elements. With respect to that syllable, Bopp<sup>12</sup> started the prevalent and most probable explanation that *ub* (*uf*) is = *um*; so that *ubnja* is = *umnja*, and is an extension by *ja* of *umn(a)*, which is identical with the suffix in the Lat. m. *alumno-*, f. *columnā-*; and of which, in fact, the very same extension appears in the Lat. *calumniā-*. The change of *m* to *b* (*f*) cannot indeed be paralleled within the Gothic itself; but Paul (Beitr. I. 157, note) has cited from the O.N. the two words *nafn* = *namn* ("name"), and *safna* = *samna* ("to collect").

(ii) Closely similar to the foregoing suffix in form is *ublja*, in the solitary adj. *daupublja-*, "destined or appointed to death"; but they are not connected; for the *u* of *ubnja*

<sup>10</sup> These two, and hence the two derivatives, are no doubt the same word.

<sup>11</sup> It is noticeable that all the roots begin with a labial spirant (*f* or *w*) and end with a dental stop (*t* or *d*), and that after the *t* a *b* follows, and after the *d* an *f*: the tribal name "*Dulgubnū*" (Tac. Germ. xxxiv.) shows the same suffix, *g* being here followed by *b*: the Gothic form of this name (*nom. plur.*) would probably be *\*Dulgufnjōs*.

<sup>12</sup> V.G. III. 181 (3rd ed.): see also Sievers, PBB. V. 150, note 2, who further considers *-umnja* to be = *-munja*; where *-mun* is weak grade to *-man* (See (2, i) above).

above appears to belong to the suffix, which is applied to bare verb-roots, while, here, the *u* belongs to the base, *i.e.*, the noun-stem *daupu-*; and again, before *l*, *b* could hardly come phonetically from *m*, unless (as is very improbable) *l* had also come from *n*. Sievers (PBB. V. 531 +), starting from a comparison of the O.H.G. *driscu-flī* (*driscu-bili*) with the equivalent A-S. *ðresco-ld*, for *\*þresco-dlo-*, our "threshold," both based on a Teut. *\*þresko-ðlo-*, strikes out the ingenious and likely explanation that *blja* (for *flja*) comes from *þlja* (See (6, viii) above); so that the adj. *daupu-blja-* would come from *\*daupu-þlja-* by differentiation of the spirants. It is an objection that *f* for *þ* does not occur elsewhere in Gothic, nor, indeed, in the interior position in any related dialect. In the initial position, however, the substitution is well known; *e.g.*: Go. *þliuhan*, but O.N. *flyja*, A-S. *fleón*, Ger. *fliegen*, our *flee*<sup>13</sup>.

(iii) *fla*, in *tweifla-* (m., or n.?) = *zweifel*, "doubt," from *twa-*, "two,"<sup>14</sup> has been shown by J. Schmidt (KZ. XVI. 431) to be the equivalent of the Lat. *plo* in *duplo-*, and the Grk. *πλο* in *διπλο-*, *i.e.* *\*δφι-πλο-*; it is related to the Lat. *-ple-x*, *pli-c-āre*, and is a word rather than a suffix. (For the *ei* of *twei-*, compare *tweihnai* in (5, vi) above.)

(iv) *bra* in *silubra-* (n.), "*silver*," is obscure: whether it is a suffix or a component, or whether *b* belongs to the root, leaving a suffix *ra*, we cannot tell. The word, however, although common to all the O.Teut. dialects, appears to have been borrowed from the Letto-Slavic (O.Sl. *srebro*, O.Pruss. *sirabla-*, but Lith. *sidabra-*, with *d* for *r*): Fick, indeed, thinks it is not an I-E. word at all.

#### 42. Pronouns; Particles.

(1) The oldest pronominal bases are mostly monosyllabic and irresolvable. But two ancient derivative pronouns in *-para* appear in Go. (and Teut. generally); viz.: *hwaþara-*, "which of two," and *anþara-*, "the other of two": of these the former is from the interrog. *hwa-*, "*who*," the latter from an old pron. *\*ana-*: the suffix is probably of the same origin with that which appears in the Greek comparatives *σφώ-τερο-*, *σφά-φίσ-τερο-*, &c.<sup>1</sup>—Add one pron. in *ja*, also from *hwa-*, viz.: *hwarja-*, "which (of any number)"; but the *r* is unexplained.

<sup>13</sup> The reverse change in "to and *thro*," for "to and *fro*," was formerly common, and is still to be sometimes heard, all over Kent.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. our popular idiom, "to be of two minds."

<sup>1</sup> The Go. *a* is for *e* before *r*, as in *fadar*, *karkara* = Lat. *carcer*, &c.

(2) Particles are generally excluded from Morphology; for the primordial prepositions and conjunctions (which were originally of a pronominal nature) are of so simple a form (Lat. *de*, Grk. *ἐκ*, Go. *du*, &c.) as to be no further resolvable; while adverbs are for the most part fixed or (so to say) petrified "cases" of pronouns, substantives, and adjectives, and require some reference to Inflexion. More complex prepositions and conjunctions are often late and obvious compounds of known elementary forms (*sub-ter*, *sup-ra*, *vel-ut*, *μέν-τοι*; Engl. *up-on*, *how-ever*; &c., &c.): and it may fairly be inferred that ancient conglomerates (*trans. āven*, Go. *þairh* = *through*, &c.) are similar compounds, although the exact original form and meaning of the components may not now be determinable<sup>2</sup>. Some prepositions that wear the aspect of derivatives are really adverbs, and may occur in both capacities (cf. Lat. *intra*, *juxta*, *propterea*, &c.), according as they do or do not "govern" a dependent word or clause; that is, the differentiation of function is based on syntactic grounds.

(3) In the formation of Gothic adverbs several suffixes (or varieties of them) are employed that have already come under our notice in §§ 39-41; as in *hwaþrō*, "whence"; *aftra*, "again"; *iupana*, "from above"; the comparative suffix *-is*, *-ōs*, in *hāuhis*, "*higher*," *sniumundōs*, "more hastily"; &c.: *undar*, "*under*," is, in use, a prep. only, although of adverbial (originally adjectival) formation (cf. Lat. *infero*-); *undarō*, like the equivalent Lat. *infra*, is an adv. which may have a prepositional force. One suffix is peculiar to Go. adverbs, viz., *ba*, exactly equal in force to our *ly*; as: *baitra-ba*, "*bitterly*," from *baitra*-, "*bitter*";—*harduba*, "*hardly*," from *hardu*- "*hard*"; &c.: this has been connected by Osthoff (KZ. XXIII. 93) with a suffix *ba* that makes abstract substs. in Lith. and O.Sl.—The inflexions from which the various adverbial forms have branched off will be referred to in the proper place under the next division of Morphology.

43. *Verbs*.—These may be conveniently treated under the heads of (1) Strong Verbs; and (2) Weak Verbs, (i) in *ja*; (ii) in *ai*; (iii) in *ō*; (iv) "Correlative Passive" Verbs in *nō* (*nǣ*).

<sup>2</sup> Grassmann, in KZ. XXIII. 559-579, attempted, but with doubtful success, to resolve all the older prepositions into monosyllables of the form *ka*, *ki*, *ta*, *ti*, *tu*, and the like, with or without a prefixed demonstrative *a*.

(1) Many Strong Verbs are inflected upon irresolvable roots of the simplest type;—as *an*, “breathe”; *al*, “grow”; *sit*, “sit”; *lig*, “lie”; *lēt*, “let”; &c.;—which, with vowel-change, or reduplication, or both, serve as stems for the preterite indicative, but which, for the present tense indic., have to be furnished with the stem-vowel *a* or *i* (= *o* or *e*),—*sita*, “I sit”; *sitis*, “thou sittest”; &c. Others *probably* involve a consonantal suffix,—as: *blanda*, “mix, blend”; *walda*, “rule, govern, (*wield*)”; &c. Of some, the formative suffixes are carried through the whole conjugation; of others, only through the present tense.

(i) Suffix *na*: this forms the present-tense stem in *fraihna*, “ask,” √*frih*=Lat. *prec* in *precor*; the pret. (1 p. s.) is *frah*. In a few verbs—*rinna*, “run,” *du-ginna*, “begin,”—*na* is probably assimilated from *wa* (*ua*).

(ii) *ja* forms the pres.-t. stems of *bidja*, “pray,” (pret. *baþ*, see § 71); *hafja*, “take up, bear,”=Lat. *capio*, (pret. *hōf*), and the six similar verbs in § 76 *infra*. *Ja* is also the characteristic of the subjunctive (optative) mood; as: *si-ja-u*, *si-ja-is*, *si-ja-i*, “I, thou, he, may be”; but in this capacity it mostly undergoes phonetic change (pret. opt. 3 p. s. *sēt-i*, 1 p. pl. *sēt-ei-ma*, &c.)

(iii) *sa*: *blēsa*, “blow”; *liusa*, “lose.”

(iv) *ska*: only in *þriska*, “thresh”; √*þri* for *þir*=*þer*=Lat. *ter* in *ter-ere*.

(v) Dental suffixes, *ta*, *þa*, *da*, appear in *giuta*, “pour,”=Lat. *fundo* for *fu-d-no* (§ 32 (3, ii));—(*us*)*alþa*, “be or grow old,” from *alan*, “to grow, increase”;—so *walda*, *blanda*, *gairda*, and others.

(vi) Composite suffixes probably appear in—*wahsja*, for *wah-s'-ja*?, “grow,” O.E. “*wax*”;—*standa*, “stand,” for *sta-d'-na*?<sup>1</sup> the pret. is *stōþ*;—*bringa*, “bring,” perhaps for *bri-g'-na*, in which case *bri* is for *bir*, *baír*, “bear,”=Lat. *fer-o*: (compare *þri-ska*-, above.)

(2) The stem of Weak Active Verbs was originally formed by adding *jo*=Go. *ja*, or, for causatives, *éjo*=Go. \**ýja*, \**ia*, *ja*, to simpler stems. According as the terminal sound of the simpler stem varied, so the suffix appears, in Gothic, either to have maintained its own form or to have fused with the final vowel of the said stem either into *ai* or into *ō*;—*ja*, *ai*, *ō*, therefore, may stand as the distinctive signs, or “exponents,” of three weak *active* conjugations. A similar distribution of derived verbs appears in other old European languages,—as in Latin; which answers with the *ī*-, *ē*-, and *ā*-conjugations;

<sup>1</sup> See note <sup>1</sup> to § 37.

or in Greek; which answers with the verbs in (1 p. s.) *έω, έω, έω* and *άω*. But the primitive distribution of verbs among these conjugations was afterwards much perturbed; for every language has some favorite and prevalent conjugation which absorbs newly-formed verbs and attracts to itself verbs once belonging to other conjugations.

(i) *ja*-verbs.—These are mainly of two classes known as “denominatives” and “causatives.”

(a) “Denominatives” may be formed upon substantive stems as bases. The simplest formation appears when the base ends in a consonant; as: *weitwōdja*-, “bear witness,” from *weitwōd*- (m.), “a witness,” (cf. Lat. *custōdī-re* from *custōd*-);—*namnja*-, “name,” from *naman*-, weak *namn*- (n.), “a name.” The next simplest appears when the base is an *i*-stem; as: *dailja*-, “dole out, distribute,” from *daili*- (f.), “a share, dole”; &c. (cf. Lat. *finī-re*, from *fini*-, &c.). But numerous *a*- (= *o*-) stems are also used for bases; as: *andbahtja*-, “serve,” from *andbahta*- (m.), “a servant,” (cf. Lat. *servī-re* from *servo*-);—*dōmja*-, “(to) judge,” from *doma*- (m.), “a judgment, doom”;—*rignja*-, “(to) rain,” from *rigna*- (n.), “rain”; &c. A few *ja*-verbs even appear to be based on fem. *ō*- (= *ā*-) substs. (See (iii) below); as: *bōtja*-, “(to) profit, boot,” from *bōtō*-, “profit, advantage.”

(β) Denominatives based on adjectives (which may be of any termination) closely resemble causatives (See (γ) below) in meaning: they may, however, be called “factitives”; as: *hrainja*-, “cleanse,” *i. e.* “make clean,” from *hraini*-, “clean,” (cf. Lat. *mollī-re* from *mollī*-);—*daupja*-, “kill,” *i. e.* “make dead,” from *daupa*-, “dead,” (cf. L. *saevī-re* from *saevo*-);—(*ga*-)*hardja*-, “harden,” from *hardu*- (*hardja*-), “hard”; and many more.

(γ) Causatives proper are formed from the deep-tone verb-root by adding *ja* (originally *ija* = *éjo*); *e. g.*: *lagja*-, “lay,” *i. e.* “cause to lie,” strong vb. *lig*-, *lag*-, “lie”;—*satja*-, “set,” *i. e.* “cause to sit,” strong vb. *sit*, *sat*;—*drankja*-, “cause to drink,” strong vb. *drink*, *drank*;—(*ur*-)*raisja*-, “raise (up),” *i. e.* “cause to rise,” strong vb. *-reis*-, *-rais*, “(*a*-)rise”; and others.

(δ) Three *ja*-verbs are based on stems in *-at*; viz.: *swogatja*-, “groan”; *kaupatja*-, “cuff, box the ears”; and *lauhatja*-, “lighten,” beside the noun-stem *liuhada*-, “light,” and the simpler verb *liuhaja*-, “shine.” The derived subst. *ahmateini*-, “inspiration,” implies a fourth vb. *\*ahmatja*-, “inspire,” (but the Go. word for spirit is *ahman*-). These verbs have been aptly compared to the Grk. vbs. in *-άζω* = *-adjō*, as: *ὀνομάζω, θαυμάζω*, beside the nouns *ὀνοματ*-,

θαυματ-; &c.<sup>2</sup> Within the Teut. area they answer to A-S. verbs in *-ettan*=O.H.G. verbs in *-ezzen*<sup>3</sup>.

(ε) This *ja*-conjugation is the prevalent one in Gothic; and it numbers more than twice as many verbs as the *ai*- and *ō*-conjugations put together. In Latin the *ā*-conjugation is the favorite, and hence some of its vbs. (which in *form* are =Go. *ō*-vbs.) correspond in *meaning* to Go. *ja*-verbs; as: *nōminā-re*=Go. *namnja-n*; *domā-re* (in pres. tense)=Go. *tamja-n*; *signā-re*=Go. *siglja-n*; *lacrimā-re*=Go. *tagrja-n*; and others.

(ii) *ai*-verbs.—(α) These answer, in formation, to Latin *ē*-vbs.; some instances are identical in the two languages both in form and meaning; as: Go. *silai-*, “be still,”=Lat. *silē-(re)*; Go. *þahai-*, “hold one’s tongue,”=L. *tacē-(re)*; Go. *witai-*, “watch, observe,”=L. *vidē-(re)*; Go. *habai-*, “have,”=L. *habē-(re)*; Go. *\*lubai-*, “hope,” (implied in the subst. *lubaini-*, “hope,” § 40 (2, xiii),)=L. *lubē-(re)*. These vbs. (as Mahlow and Kögel suggest, PBB. IX. 509+) may very well have been formed on noun-bases in *-ē*, so that *\*habai-an* (afterwards reduced to *haban*) would imply a base *habē-*, just as *sai-an* implies a root *sē-* (§ 25 (2) above); and verbs so formed would set the pattern of the conjugation.

(β) There is further a *general* correspondence of *meaning* between most of these *ai*-vbs. and many Latin *ē*-vbs., in that both sets indicate duration, state (condition), or feeling (emotion); *e.g.* (besides some of the instances just cited): *þulai-*, “endure”; *libai-*, “live”; *maurnai-*, “be anxious”; *reirai-*, “tremble”; *fiþjai-*, “hate”; *trauþai-*, “trust”; *sifai-*, “rejoice”; and others. (Cf. L. *manēre*, *lugēre*, *algēre*, *dolēre*, &c. &c.)

(γ) When once this form of verb was associated with a definite category of conceptions, it would attract to itself all verbs of similar force, irrespective of the base out of which they grew: thus we find *hweilai-*, “linger,” by the *ō*-fem. *hweilō-*, “time” (from which an *ō*-vb. might have been expected—see (iii) below); and similarly *saurgai-*, “(to) sorrow,” by *saurgō-*, “sorrow”; *liugai-*, “marry,” by *liugō-*, “marriage”; and others;—also, from adjectives, (*ga*-)þarþai-, “refrain or abstain from,” adj. þarþa-, “needy”;—armai-, “have mercy on,” adj. arma-, “miserable”;—weihai-, “hallow,” adj. weiha-, “holy,” (which last is, in force, a factitive, like the *ja*-vbs. of (i, β) above.)

<sup>2</sup> L. Meyer, G.S. § 107; Grein, “Das Got. Verbum,” p. 61; Kögel in PBB. VII. 181+; but Pott thinks that the *t* of *atjan* was prim. (BB. VIII. 66).

<sup>3</sup> Collected by Kluge, PBB. IX. 164.

(iii) *ō*-verbs.—(a) The pattern of this conjugation was set by verbs based immediately on fem. substantives in *-ō* (= *ā*): to these *jō* (*je*) = Go. *ja* (*ji*) was originally added, but was afterwards reduced, in certain "persons" of the vb., to *i*, and then absorbed by the *ō*. In Gothic, neither *ja* nor *i* anywhere appears (See § 79 (3) below). Examples: *karō* (*ja*-), "care," subst. *karō*-, "care";—*idreigō* (*ja*-), "repent," subst. *idreigō*-, "repentance";—(*ga*-)*paidō* (*ja*-), "clothe," subst. *paidō*-, "coat";—*midumō* (*ja*-), "mediate," subst. *midumō*-, "middle, midst";—(*ga*-)*sunjō* (*ja*-), "justify," subst. *sunjō*-, "truth"; and others. (Cf. Lat. *formā-re* from *formā*-, *culpā-re* from *culpā*-, &c.; or Grk. *τιμά-ω* for *\*-ājō* from *τιμā*-, &c.)

(β) But not a few *ō*-vbs. are from m. & n. *a*- (= *ō*-) substs.; as: *fiskō* (*ja*-), "to fish," from *fiska*- (m.), "a fish";—*awiliudō* (*ja*-), "give thanks," from *awiliuda*- (n.), "thanks";—*liupō* (*ja*-), "sing," implying *\*liupa*- (n.), "song"; and others. (Cf. Lat. *fumā-re* from *fumō*-; *sonā-re* from *sonō*-, &c.: the Greek, in such instances, shows 1 p. s. *-ow* for *-ojō*, as in *δουλόω* from *δουλο*-.)

(γ) Even *u*-stems give off *ō*-vbs.; as: *lustō* (*ja*-), "lust after," from *lustu*- (m.), "lust";—*grēdō* (*ja*-), "to hunger," from *grēdu*-, "hunger."

(δ) An important group of *ō*-vbs. is based on noun-stems in *-an* (*-in*), *-ina*, *-ana*: these denote "acting as, playing the part of"; e.g.: *gudjinō* (*ja*-), "act as priest," from *gudjan*-, "priest";—*fraujinō* (*ja*-), "be lord (over)," from *fraujan*-, "lord," (cf. Lat. *dominā-re* from *dominō*-);—*piudanō* (*ja*-), "be king, rule," from *piudana*-, "king";—*raginō* (*ja*-), "rule, act as governor," by *raginja*- (m.), "governor," ultimately from *ragina*- (n.), "counsel, judgment";—*aiginō* (*ja*-)<sup>5</sup>, "own, be owner of, possess," from *aigina*-, "property, possessions." One *ō*-vb. of similar meaning, but without the *-in*-suffix, is a borrowed Lat. *ā*-vb., viz., *milītō*-, "serve as a soldier," = L. *milītā-re*. Several such verbs, however, are based on stems in *-a*, *-ja*, *-i*, *-u*, or a consonant, either intermediate substantives being lost, or (what is more likely) *-inō*- (like *ai* above) having come to be considered as a single formative suffix to be employed for the construction of a special category of verbs irrespective of the termination of the base; hence we have: *airinō* (*ja*-), "act as ambassador," from *airu*-, "ambassador";—*draúhtinō* (*ja*-), "serve as a

<sup>4</sup> L. Meyer, G.S. § 457; Kögel, following Mahlow, PBB. IX. 504+.

<sup>5</sup> This actually occurs, however, only in the compound *ga-aiginōn* "take possession of."

soldier," from (*ga-*) *draúhti-*, "soldier";—*lēkinō*(*ja-*), "heal, i.e., act as physician," from *lēkja-*, "physician";—*hōrinō*(*ja-*), "play the adulterer, commit adultery," from *hōra-*, "adulterer";—*reikinō*(*ja-*), "reign, be ruler," from *reik-*, "ruler." (Cf. Lat. *regnā-re*, from *regnō-*, and ultimately from *rēg-*, "king.")—See also § 41 (2, viii) above.

(iv) The "correlative passives" were originally based on past or passive ptps. (in *-ana-*) of strong active verbs. Their "characteristic" was *-ō*, so that this conjugation was a subdivision of that in (iii) above; but in all the present-tense forms *-ō* is supplanted in Gothic by *-a* (*-i*) after the pattern of the strong verbs, so that the paradigm has a heterogeneous aspect. Thus we have:

Strong verb.	Pass. ptep.	Correl. pass. stem.
<i>Bi-auka-</i> , "augment" . . . . .	<i>bi-aukana-</i> . .	<i>bi-auknō</i> , <sup>6</sup> <i>bi-aukna-</i> , "be augmented, increase";
<i>Brika-</i> , "break" . . . . .	<i>brukana-</i> . . . .	( <i>us-</i> ) <i>bruknō-</i> , <i>-brukna-</i> , "be broken";
<i>Dis-taira-</i> , "tear asunder" . . . .	<i>dis-tairana-</i> . .	<i>dis-tairnō-</i> and <i>-na-</i> , "be torn asunder";
<i>Fra-liusa-</i> , "lose" (= <i>perdere</i> ) . .	<i>fra-lusana-</i> . .	<i>fra-lusnō-</i> and <i>-na-</i> , "be lost, perish."

Sometimes an act. *ja-vb.* and a correl. pass. are both referable to a single strong vb.; as: (intrans.) *waka-*, "wake, watch," (trans.) *-wakja-* (in *us-wakja-*, "awaken"), correl. pass. *-waknō-* and *-na* (in *ga-waknō-* and *-na-*, properly, "be awakened"). Afterwards, as it would seem, *-nō* (*-na*) came to be regarded as more especially correlative to *-ja*, and the verbs so formed, as correlative to the factitive verbs based on adjs. (See (i. β) above): this class of *nō*-vbs. is actually a majority of the conjugation. Examples:

Adj.	Act. <i>ja-vb.</i>	Correl. pass.
<i>blinda-</i> , "blind," . . . . .	<i>ga-blindja-</i> , "(to) blind," . .	<i>ga-blindnō-</i> and <i>-na-</i> , "become blind";
<i>fulla-</i> , "full," . . . . .	<i>fullja-</i> , "fill," . . . . .	<i>fullnō-</i> and <i>-na-</i> , "be filled";
<i>gabiga-</i> , "rich," . . . . .	<i>gabigja-</i> , "enrich," . . . . .	<i>gabignō-</i> and <i>-na-</i> , "be enriched";
<i>managa-</i> , "much, many,"	<i>managja-</i> , "multiply," . .	<i>managnō-</i> and <i>-na-</i> , "be multiplied," ∴ "abound";
<i>swinþa-</i> , "strong," . . . .	<i>swinþja-</i> , "strengthen," . .	<i>swinþnō-</i> and <i>-na-</i> , "be strengthened";

and others. One, the only extant, *nō*-verb correl. to an act.

<sup>6</sup> Between *-ana* and *-na*, *-nō*, may be supposed to have come the intermediate form *-ina* (§ 40 (2, ix) above).



*ai*-vb. (which is also based on an adj.) is: *weihnō*- and *-na*-, “*be* hallowed,” act. *weihai*-, “hallow,” from *weika*-, “holy”<sup>7</sup>.

## (II) COMPOSITION.

44. (1) By “Composition” is meant the combination of two or more words into one word. In compounds made up of two components only, (to which class our attention must be chiefly confined,) the first of the two stands towards the second in some subordinate or qualifying relationship (§ 38 (3)), even although, as independent words, the two may be of coordinate grammatical rank. Moreover, if each separately is an inflectible word, the second alone, in perfect composition, retains its inflexions, while the first appears either in a thematic or a radical form. The present section will briefly deal with compounds formed from inflectible words (at least, substantives, adjectives, verbs); leaving to § 45 the treatment of the numerous and more closely-fused compounds of which the initial factors are got from gram-

<sup>7</sup> This conjugation is really a new and ingeniously-evolved passive voice: it became a somewhat favorite one in the Gothic and Scandinavian dialects: in the Western dialects, on the contrary, it almost died out. A survival in our own language is the vb. *learn*. The Go. causative *laisjan*, for *\*laizjan*, “to cause to know,” ∴ “to teach,” = O.S. *lērian*, O.H.G. *lēran*, A-S. *læran*, is referable to an old strong verb = Go. *\*leisan*, of which only the pret. Go. *lais* (used as a pres. =) “I know,” is extant. On the ptp. *\*lizana*- must have been formed a correlative pass. = Go. *\*lison* (not extant) = W.Teut. *\*lizon*, = O.S. *lōn*, O.H.G. *lērōn* and *lērēn*, A-S. *leornian* (pret. *leornode*), prop., “to be taught,” ∴ “to learn.” The German still keeps both vbs. clear and distinct (*lehren*, *lernen*). In English, up to the 12th century, the act. vb. was in general use, but it has since been expelled by “teach.” Before its expulsion, however, there occurred a period of confusion between the act. and pass. forms, which was partly due no doubt to the phonetic resemblance between the later forms of *lēren* and *lernen*, and of which many curious instances might be collected from early English writers. We even find Spenser writing (for the sake of rime): “He of Tityrus his song did *lere*”; he means, of course, *learn*. More generally, *lernen* encroached on the domain of *leren*. Thus in the Psalms of the Prayer-book we find: “*learn* (= teach) me understanding”; so also our unlettered provincials: “I *larnt* him his letters,” and the like. The substitution is universally accepted in the participial adj. *learnéd* = *doctus*, *gelehr̃t*, orig. *lēréd* (as in Robert of Brunne, who wrote his Chronicle “not for the *lērīd* bot for the lewed”). —Another correlative pair still extant are: *owe*, old pret. *ought* (= A-S. *āgan*, pret. *āhte*) and *own*, *owned* = A-S. *āznan*, *āznōde*. The latter however had, even in A-S. times, taken (and it still keeps) the meaning of the parent verb (“to possess”); while the former, which maintained its old meaning down to Shakspeare, has become the equivalent of Lat. *dēbere*,—with an additional shifting of *ought*, in an abstract sense, into a quasi-present tense.

matical categories (prepositions, adverbs) subordinate to those of the final factors (substantives, adjectives, verbs).

(2) Of the compounds to be first treated the most numerous are the various classes of Noun-compounds; *i. e.*, combinations of a substantive or an adjective with another substantive or adjective ("adjective" including participle), in any admissible order. Of these a few examples will here be considered and arranged with special reference to the important question as to the conditions under which the first factor retains or drops its stem-vowel, or (if the stem ends in a consonant) modifies its stem-suffix. This question has been discussed, as it affects the Gothic, by J. Kremer (PBB. VIII. 371-460), who lays down the general rule that the first factor ought to show the stem-vowel when this vowel originally bore the accent in the independent word and retained it in composition, while consonantal stems should show the weak stem-form. There are, however, so many exceptions among *a*-nouns, (caused, no doubt, by a later assimilation of compounds of one pattern to those of another<sup>1</sup>), that the rule is often of doubtful value.

(i) *a*- (= *o*-) stems:—A correct form for subst. + subst. is *gud-hūsa*, "temple" (= *guda*- (n.), "God," + *hūsa*- (n.), "house"); but compounds like *weina-gardi*, "vine-yard" (= *weina*- (n.), "wine," + *gardi*-, "garden") are numerous;—for subst. + adj. we have, correctly, *guda-faúrhta*, "God-fearing, devout" (= *guda*-, "God," + *faúrhta*-, "fearful, afraid"), &c.;—also, for compound adjs. made up of adj. + subst., we find, correctly, *laus-waúrda*- (adj.), "babbling, talking-foolishly" (= *laus*-, "vain, empty," + *waúrda*- (n.), "word"), &c.; but again, *laus-handu*-, "empty-handed" (= *laus*- + *handu*- (f.), "hand"), &c. Other examples: *hunda*-, "hundred," + *fadi*-, "master," = *hunda-fadi*-, "centurion"; *weina*- + *drunkjan*- (m.), "a drinker," = *wein-drunkjan*-, "wine-bibber"; *hauha*-, "high," + *háirtan*- (n.), "heart," = *hauh-háirta*- (adj.), "high-minded, proud"; *liuba*-, "dear, beloved," + *leika*- (adj.), "like," = *liuba-leika*- (adj.), "love-ly"; and many more.

(ii) *ja*-stems:—*ja* persists when the base is a short syllable; *e. g.*: *frapja*- (n.), "mind, understanding," + *marzeini*- (f.), "offence, injury," = *frapja-marzeini*-, "mental delusion";—but if the base is long, or of more than one syllable, *ja* (or more properly *ia*) becomes *i*; as: *andja*- (m.), "end," + *laus*- (adj.), "void of," = *andi-laus*-, "endless"; and so

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the irregularities I must refer the student to Kremer's article.

also the fem. *pūsundjō-*, "thousand," + *fadi-*, "master," = *pūsundi-fadi-*, "captain of a thousand."

(iii) *ō-* (= *ā-*) stems (fem.) :—stem-vowel appears as *a-* : e. g. : *airpō-*, "earth," + *kunda-*, "springing-from," = *airpa-kunda-*, "terrestrial."

(iv) *i-* stems :—*i* generally and correctly persists ; as : *gasti-* (m.), "guest," + *gōda-*, "good," = *gasti-gōda-*, "hospitable" ; —*mati-* (m.), "meat," + *balgi-* (m.), "bag," = *mati-balgi-* (m.), "wallet."—But in a few instances *i* does not appear ; as : *brudi-*, "bride," + *fadi-*, "master," = *brup-fadi-*, "bridegroom" ; —*twalibi-*, "twelve," + *wintru-* (m.), "winter," = *twalib-wintru-* (adj.), "twelve-years-old."

(v) *u-* stems :—*u* correctly persists (See § 35 (2, v)) ; as : *handu-* (f.), "hand," + *waúrhta-* (ptep.), "wrought," = *handu-waúrhta-* (adj.), "made by hand" ; —*grundu-* (m.), "ground," + *waddju-* (f.), "wall," = *grundu-woddju-* (f.), "foundation" ; —*filu-* (adj.), "much" (= adv. "very"), + *galauba-* (adj.), "dear, precious," = *filu-galauba-* (adj.), "very precious."

(vi) *n-* stems :—these all, as initial factors, follow the pattern of the *a-* stems<sup>2</sup> that keep the *a* (See (i) above) ; as : *waiḥstan-* (m.), "corner," + *staina-* (m.), "a stone," = *waiḥsta-staina-* (m.), "corner-stone" ; —*augan-* (n.), "eye," + *daúra-* (n.), "door," = *auga-daúran-* (n.), "window."

(vii) Other consonantal stems :—*r-* stem : *brōpar-* (for *-er-*) + *\*-lubōn-* (f.), "love," = *brōpru-lubōn-* (f.), "brotherly love," (*ru*, wk. grade to *er* (*re*),—see § 24 (3), (4) above ; but *brōpra-l.* also occurs) ; —*s-* stem (in Go., *-isa*, *-iza*) : *sigis(a)-* (n.), "victory," + *launa-* (n.), "reward," = *sigis-launa-* (n.), "prize of victory."

(3) The composite Pronouns will be given under "Inflection" (§§ 62–68 below).

(4) Composite verbs (= noun + vb.) occur, but rarely ; as : *piuḥpa-* (n.), "good," + *spillōn*, "preach," = *piuḥ-spillōn*, "preach good tidings" (where *piuḥ* may originally have been accus. to *spillōn*). But it should be noted that some apparently composite verbs are really denominatives (§ 43 (2, i)) based on composite noun-forms ; as : *ubil-waúrdjan*, "to abuse, speak evil of," which is based immediately on the adj. *ubil-waúrda-*, "abusive," which again is formed from *ubila-*, "evil," and *waúrda-* (n.), "word."

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps because some of the older compounds may embody, as first factor, the simpler *a-* (= *o-*) stems of which the *an-* stems were extensions (§ 40 (2)).

45. (1) Prepositions, or rather Adverbs, when used as initial factors of compounds are called "Prefixes." Most of these (known as "separable" prefixes) still maintain an independent existence also; but some few (known as "inseparable" prefixes) have, as independent words, disappeared. The compounds formed from the latter are often (somewhat unhappily) called "proper," and those from the former, "improper," compounds. The next subsection will display the Gothic prefixes in alphabetieal order, each followed by examples of the various compounds formed therewith; and the meanings assigned to the prefixes are those which they possess as such, and which may or may not agree with their meanings as independent words. (Inseparable prefixes will be specially indicated.)

(2) Gothic Prefixes, and Compounds formed therewith:—

*Af*, "off," ∴ "away"; "*un-*"; sometimes an intensive = "quite, completely"; examples: *afmaitan*, "to cut off"; —*afniman*, "to take away"; —*afdumbnan*, "to become quite dumb"; —*afētjan-* (m.), "a glutton," lit. "an eater-up"; —*afhaimi-* (adj.), "away from home," ∴ "absent"; —*afguda-* (adj.), "ungodly, godless"; —*afgudein-* (f.), "godlessness"; and many more.

*Afar*, "after": *afargangan* and *afarlaistjan*, "to go after, to follow"; —*afardaga-* (m.), "the day after"; —*afarsabbatu-* (m.), "the (day) after the sabbath." (These are all.)

*Afra*, "again"; only in *aftra-anastōdeini-* (f.), "a beginning again, a renewal."

*Ana*, "on; up; at; again (= Lat. *re-*); over; and over- (in sense of excess)"; as: *analagjan*, "to lay on (hands, &c.)"; —*anatimrjan*, "to build up"; —*anahaimi-* (adj.), "at home," ∴ "present"; —*ananiujan*, "to renew"; —*anafilhan*, "to hand over, give in charge"; —*anakaúrjan*, "to overburden"; and many others: *ana* is in most instances nearly = Grk. *ἀνά*, and exactly so in *anakunnan* = *ἀναγιγνώσκειν*, "to read."

*And*, "against, over against," ∴ "in front of; to; on"; also (like its Germ. equivalent *ent*) = "*un-*"; as: *andweihan*, "to war against"; —*andstandan*, "to withstand" (*with-*, here, is also = "against"); —*andwairþa-* (adj.), "present" (prop., "being in front of"); —*andhausjan*, "to listen to," ∴ "obey"; —*andsaihwān*, "to look upon"; —*andbindan*, "to unbind" (*entbinden*).

*Anda-* (insep.), the fuller form of the foregoing; hence, beside *and-haitan*, "to confess," there stands *anda-haita-*

(n.)<sup>1</sup>, "confession"; beside *and-hafjan* and *and-waurdjan*, "to answer," stand *anda-hafti-* (f.) and *anda-waurdja-* (n.), "an answer";—add: *andaneifa-* (adj.), "contrary, opposed";—*andastapja-* (m.), "an adversary"; and others. Words with *anda-* are all substs. or adjs.

*At*, "by; to; before; down"; as: *atstandan*, "to stand by";—*atgangan*, "to go or come to";—*atsatjan*, "to set before, présent";—*atsteigan*, "to come down, descend"; and many more.

*Bi*, "around; round about; all-over"; often = *be-*; e. g.: *bigraban*, "to dig around (a place)";—*bisaihwan*, "to look round about";—*bisauljan*, "to be-sully, defile";—*bilaigōn*, "to be-lick, or lick all-over";—*biskaban*, "to be-shear, or shave all-over"; &c., &c.

*Dis-* (insep.), "apart; asunder; upon"; often = "*dis-*"; e. g.: *distairan*, "to tear asunder";—*disdailjan*, "to dole out, distribute";—*dishaban*, "to seize upon";—*disdriusan*, "to fall upon"; and others.

*Du*, "to; be-"; as: *durinnan*, "to run to";—*duginnan* or *dustōdjan*, "to begin"; and (in one codex) *duwakan*, "to keep watch (against)." These are all the words in which *du* occurs alone; but it is also found in combination with *at* or *ga-*; as: *du-at-rinnan*, "to run up to";—*du-ga-windan* (*sik*), "to entangle (oneself)."

*Fair-* (insep.), an intensive = "*per-*; *ex-*," Germ. *ver-*; as: *fairweitjan*, "to gaze";—*fair-rinman*, "to extend";—*faigr-greipan*, "to take hold of"; and a few more.

*Faur*, "before; by; for-": *faurlagjan*, "to lay or set before";—*faurgangan*, "to go or pass by";—*faurbiudan*, "to forbid"; and others: *faur* and *bi* occur in combination, as in *faur-bigangan*, and *faur-bisnivan*, "to go on before"; (but *bipragjan faur*, "to run on before.")

*Faura*, the fuller form of the foregoing, = "before; beforehand"; as: *fauraquiman*, "to go or come before";—*fauraquipan*, "to say beforehand, to prophesy"; and many more.

*Fra-* (insep.), "from or away; out"; also = "*for-*; *per-*; *re-*"; also an intensive (= up); or it may imply *wrongness*; as: *frawairpan*, "to cast away";—*fradailjan*, "to dole out, distribute";—*fragiban*, (sometimes =) "to forgive";—*fralusnan*, "to be lost, perish";—*fragildan*, "to repay";—*fra-itan*, "to eat up, devour";—*fraslindan*, "to swallow up";—*fra-waurkjan*, "to sin," lit. "to work or act wrongly"; and many others.

<sup>1</sup> The difference between *and-* and *anda-* is due to variation of accent in the compounds (See § 44 (2) and § 85).

*Fram* indicates distance onwards, or extension in advance; as: *framaldra-* (adj.), "very old," or "advanced in years";—*framgahti-* (f.), "advancement";—*framis* (adv.), "further on";—*framwairþis* (adv.), "henceforth"; and two or three more.

*Fri-* (insep.), perhaps a variety of *fra-*; only in *frisahti-* (f.), "example, pattern, form."

*Ga-* (insep.) occurs far more frequently than any other prefix: its shades of meaning are various, and often difficult to determine: it was originally perhaps = "with, together, (*co-, con-*)," as in *galisan*, "to gather together";—*ga-bairan*, prop. "to bring together, ∴ to compare," (like Lat. *conferre*); whence its "collective" use in *gaskōhja-* (sing., neut.), "a pair of shoes" (cf. Germ. *Gebrüder*, *Gebirge*, &c.),—and also its sense of "fellow-," as in *ga-arhjan-* (m.), "fellow- or joint-heir";—*ga-waurstwan-* (m.), "fellow-worker": other shades of the same meaning appear in *gabaúra-* (m., occurring in plur. only), "a common meal, a feast" (= Lat. *convivium*, Grk. *συνπόσιον*); but *gabaúra-* (n., sing.), "a contribution";—*gawilja-* (adj.), "of one mind or will": from this (like Lat. *con-*) it passed on to various shades of intensive use; as: *gabranñjan*, "to burn up";—*gadōmjan*, "to con-demn";—*gadraban*, "to hew out";—*ga-brikan*, "to break to bits";—*galukan*, "to shut up";—*gastandan*, "to stand still, or to stand fast";—*gastaúrknan*, "to pine away";—*gawigan*, "to shake down";—*gawaúrkjan*, "to work out, to effect"; and the like. It is not seldom used to assist in the formation of *ja-*verbs and their correlative passives; as in *gabljndjan*, "to blind, strike blind," and *gabljndnan*, "to become, or be struck, blind";—*gahailjan*, "to make whole," and *gahailnan*, "to be made whole." *Ga-* frequently occurs in detached verb-forms; thus, it is used to fortify the notion of passivity, or completeness, or both, as in the past ptcp.; e. g., *gadailida-*, "divided"; *gawalida-*, "chosen, elect"; &c., &c. It is also used, although by no means uniformly, in present tenses with a future sense (See under "Verbs," in the Syntax). But the difference between a bare verb and the same verb with *ga-* is sometimes imperceptible, owing, no doubt, to a debilitation of the force of the prefix: hence we sometimes find that a simple verb has vanished before the compound, as being a mere duplicate;—as *\*nisan* before *ganisan*, "be saved" (but both of the related causatives, *nasjan* and *ganasjan*, frequently occur). In a few instances *ga-* appears to be doubled upon itself; as: *ga-gawairþjan*, "to reconcile"; *ga-gamainjan*, "to make common, to defile" (Mark vii. 23; but in 15, 18,

20, the simpler *gamañjan* appears): these, however, are based on less elaborate compounds in *ga-*; as *ga-irair̥ja-* (n.), "peace"; *ga-maini-*, "common." *Ga-* was sometimes rather loosely attached to a word; for a particle might be thrust in between them; as the interrog. *u*, in *Ga-u-laubjats* . . . ? "do ye-two believe . . . ?"—or a particle and a pronoun; as: (Frah ina) *ga-u-hwa-sēhwi* = " (he-asked him) whether (*u*) he-saw *ought* (*hwa*)";—and even three particles are found so inserted; as in: *Ga-ḥ-ḥan-miḥ-sandidēdum* imma brōpar = "and (ḥ for ḥ = *uh*) besides (ḥan) we have sent with (*miḥ*) him a brother."

*Hindar*, "behind," ∴ "away"; only in *hindarleip̥an*, "to pass away"; and *hindarweisa-* (adj.), "crafty," with its derivatives *un-hindarweisa-*, "unfeigned," and *hindarweisein-* (f.), "craft, guile."

*Ib-* (insep.), probably a weaker form of the fuller *ab* = *af* (*a* = *Δ*): *ib-daljan-* (m.), "a declivity, descent";—*ibuka-* (adj.), "backward."

*Id-* (insep.), "back; again; re-": *idweita-* (n.), "reproach," and *idweitan*, "to reproach, revile." *Idreigō-* (f.), "repentance," is sometimes given as formed with *id*; but this is very doubtful.

*In*, "in, into, en-": *insaian*, "to sow in (a place)";—*inagjan*, "to threaten" (lit., "put fear into");—*ingardi-* (adj.), "in the house," (= Lat. *domesticus*);—*inlihtjan*, "to enlighten";—*inmaidjan*, "to make a change in," ∴ "to transfigure"; and many more.

*Inn*, *inna*: only<sup>2</sup> in *inn-at-gāhti-* (f.), "a coming-in to, an entrance"; and *innakunda-* (adj.), "belonging to the same family or household."

*Missa-* (insep.) = "mis-," and denotes wrongness, badness, or difference; as: *missadēdi-* (f.), "*misdeed*, trespass";—*missataujandan-* (m., ptepal subst.), "an evildoer";—*missaquissi-* (f.), "contention";—*missaleika-* (adj.), "various, diverse." These are all.

*Miḥ*, "with; together; con-": alone in *miḥwissein-* (f.), "conscience";—with *ga-* in *miḥ-gasinḥan-* (m.), "a fellow-traveller with (any one)";—*miḥ-galeikōnd-* (m., ptepal subst.), lit. "one who likens (himself) with (some one else)," ∴ "an imitator." *Miḥ* often more loosely precedes a verb, with which indeed some editors combine it; as: *miḥ gangan* or *miḥgangan*, "to go with"; &c.

*Silda-* (insep., but prob. a subst. or an adj., the base of

<sup>2</sup> The words "only in," and the like, refer to the use of *inn* &c. in composition; as independent adverbs they may incessantly occur.

our *seldom*, Ger. *ſelten*): "rare," ∴ "strange"; as in *silda-leika-* (adj.), "wonderful," and its derivatives.

*Swa*, "so": *swaleika-* (adj.), "such"; *swalauda-* (adj.), N. s. m. *swalaups*, "so great."

*Tuz-* (insep.) is probably a weak form of *twis*: it occurs only in *tuzwērjan*, "to doubt, disbelieve."

*Twis-* (insep.), from *twa-*, "two," denotes divergence or separation: it occurs only in *twis-standan*, "to take leave, depart," and the related subst. *twis-stassi-* (f.), "sedition."

*Þairh*, "through": *þairhleipjan*, "to go through"; and a few more.

*Uf*, "up; under; sub-"; as: *ufblēsan*, "to puff up";—*ufgairdan*, "to gird up";—*ufhnaiwjan*, "to put under, sub-ject";—*ufhrōpjan* and *ufwōpjan*, "to cry out," or "lift up the voice";—*ufrakjan*, "to reach out, or stretch forth";—*ufmēljan*, "to write under, subscribe"; and many more.

*Ufar*, "over; above; more-than; super-": *ufarfulla-* (adj.), "more-than full, overflowing";—*ufarmēljan*, "to write over, or superscribe";—*ufarhugjan*, "to think too-highly (of oneself)";—*ufargudjan-* (m.), "a chief priest"; and others.

*Un-* (insep.) is a negative prefix = "un-, in-, dis-, -less"; as: *un-at-gāhta-* (adj.), "unapproachable or inaccessible";—*unagandan-* (ptepial adj.), "fearless";—*unbarnaha-* (adj.), "childless";—*ungalaubeini-* (f.), "unbelief";—*unswēran*, "to dishonour"; and many similar.

*Und*, "to; up to; on to"; prob. a weak form of *and*: only in: *undrinnan*, "to come or fall to (as a share)";—*undrēdan*, "to offer, provide";—*undgreipjan*, "to seize on, lay hold of."

*Undar*, "under": only in the wk. neut. superlative *undar-istō* used as a subst. = "undermost or lowest (part)," and the wk. adj. *undarleijan-*, "lowest (in degree)," E.V. "less than the least."

*Unþa-* (insep.), "away": occurs only in *unþapliuhan*, "to flee away, escape."

*Us, uz* (and by assimilation *ur*), "out; forth; up; with-out"; also intensive, "thoroughly" (*Anglicè* "out and out"?); as: *usdreiban*, "to drive out";—*urreisen*, "to arise, rise up";—*urrinnan*, "to run or go forth";—*usfairinan-* (wk. adj.), "without blame";—*uslaisjan*, "to teach thoroughly," (cf. Lat. *ē-docēre*); and very many more.

*Waila*, "well=good"; as: *wailadēdi-* (f.), "a good deed, benefit";—*wailamērjan*, "to preach good tidings"; and two or three more.

*Waja-* (insep.) and *wai*, prob. identical with *wai*, "woe,"



∴ indicating evil or calamity (the opposite of *waila*) ; as : *wajamērjan*, “to speak evil of, to blaspheme, revile” ;—*waidēdjan*- (m.), “an evildoer, a malefactor.”

*Wiṣra*, “towards, against” ; only in : *wiṣrawaṣra* (adj.), “opposite, over-against” ;—*wiṣragangan* and *wiṣragamōtjan*, “go to meet.”

### (III) INFLEXION.

46. Under this head we have to consider the completed words formed from stems by means of final suffixes which ultimately served to fit one word for entering into relationship with others in continuous speech. These endings were probably of pronominal origin (§ 38 (4)). By coalescence with more vigorous pronominal roots they gave rise to the scheme of the inflected pronoun, and by coalescence with primary verb-roots, or with stems formed from them, they gave rise to the noun-scheme, and to the scheme of the verb, primary and secondary : the noun afterwards radiated into substantive and adjective. These four word-categories, or “Parts of Speech,”—the *substantive*, the *adjective*, the *pronoun* (with the *article*), and the *verb*,—maintained their inflectibility in all the separate I-E. languages. But the general head of “Inflexion” is usually extended to cover other parts of speech,—*adverbs*, *prepositions*, *conjunctions*,—which (with the exception of some adverbs) are no longer inflectible, and are often classed together as “particles” : these, however, are all derived either from inflectible words or from one of the two classes of ultimate roots. And, further, owing to the importance of bringing the whole word-system of a language into one connected view, it is usual to range the *interjection* under the head of particles. These parts of speech will now be considered in the following order :—  
(a) *Substantives* ; (β) *Adjectives*, including the Verbal Adjectives (*Participles*) and the *Numerals* ; (γ) *Pronouns*, including the *Article* ; (δ) *Verbs* ; (ε) *Particles*.

#### (a) SUBSTANTIVES.

47. (1) The variations of form which the endings of substantives undergo give what are called *Cases* of those substantives ; and the complete scheme of cases appertaining to each substantive, or group of similar substantives, is called its (or their) *Declension*. It is probable that the cases of all substantives were once formed by the same series of suffixes or endings ; but in later primitive times substantives of

different genders or of different stem-forms had already, in a few of their cases, assumed different or modified endings; while, in the separate descendent languages, special phonetic and accentual tendencies led to a great diversity of declension. Of the primitive cases the Gothic has preserved the Nominative (N.), the Accusative (A.), the Dative (D.)—with which in certain declensions the old Ablative (Abl.) and Locative (L.), and perhaps the Instrumental (I.), have coalesced,—the Genitive (G.), and the interjectional Vocative (V.). Originally, the endings of these cases probably were, for the masculine: Sing. N., *-s*; A., *-m*; D., L., *-i*; Abl., *-ēd*; Instr., *-ē* or *-ō*; G., *-es*, or for *o*-stems *-sjo*; V. (no suffix);—Plur. N., *-es*; A., *-ms* or *-ns*; D., *-bhias*, or I., *-bhis* (but Teut. everywhere shows *-m*, which can hardly be derived from either of these<sup>1</sup>); G., *-ēm* or *-ōm*; V. (N. form would probably be used). The neuter differed in the N. & A. s. (*-m* or *0*) and N. & A. pl. (*-ā*); the feminine chiefly in the N.s., which often dropt *-s*. An old Teut. masc. *o*-subst. (say *\*wolfo*—=Go. *wulfa*-, “*wolf*”) may accordingly be supposed to have shown the following declension:—

*Sing.*: N. *wolfo-s*; A. *wolfo-m*; D. *wolfai*; G. *wolfesjo*; V. *wolfe*.

*Plur.*: N. *wolfōs* (*-ōs*=*o-es*); A. *wolfo-ns*; D. *wolfo-m’*; G. *wolfēm* (or *-ōm*); V. (=N.) *wolfōs*.

In comparing this with the Gothic declension in the next §, we have to put *a* for *o* and *i* for *e* (§§ 21, 22), and to apply the rules of § 35. Where either rule appears to break down (as in *wulfōs*, *-ans*), the cause may lie in the accentuation (§ 85).

(2) The Gothic Substantives will now be laid out in declensions according to the various terminations of their themes or stems, by which their inflexional endings are affected. Those whose stems ended in *a* (fem. *ō*), *i*, *u* are grouped together as the *Vowel Declensions*; those whose stems ended in *n*, and a few ending in *r*, *d*, *g*, &c., form the *Consonant Declensions*<sup>2</sup>.

48. The *Vowel Declensions*: Stems in *a* (masc. & neut.), and *ō* (fem.); including the special groups in *ja* (*jō*), *wa* (*wō*), *sa*, and *ra*.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the O.Slav. *-mu*, and the Lith. *-ms*; some vowel once probably followed the *m* in Teut.

<sup>2</sup> The *Vowel* and the *Consonant Declensions* are sometimes called, respectively, the *Strong* and the *Weak Declensions*.—On meeting with the successive stem-suffixes the reader is requested to refer to §§ 39–41.

(1) *Masculines*: (i) Stems in *a*. Examples:

<i>wulfa</i> -, "wolf."		<i>hlaiba</i> -, "loaf."	
Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
N. wulfs	wulfōs	hlaifs <sup>1</sup>	hlaibōs
V. wulf	(wulfōs)	hlaif <sup>1</sup>	(hlaibōs)
A. wulf	wulfans	hlaif <sup>1</sup>	hlaibans
D. wulfa	wulfam	hlaiba	hlaibam
G. wulfis	wulfē.	hlaibis	hlaibē.

Similarly are declined: *aipa*-, "oath"; *bagma*-, "tree"; *daga*-, "day"; *fiska*-, "fish"; *fugla*-, "bird, fowl"; *munþa*-, "mouth"; *staina*-, "stone"; *þiudana*-, "king"; *wiya*-, "way"; and others. *Reika*-, "prince," resembles some of the consonant declensions (§ 52 (2)) in making the N. pl. *reiks*.

(ii) Masc. *ja*-stems make the N. s. in *-jis* when the radical syllable is short and closed or long and open<sup>2</sup>; but when it is long and closed<sup>3</sup>, or when the base (apart from any prefix) is of more than one syllable, the N. & G. s. show *-eis* (i. e., *-is*=*-i-is*) and not *-jis*. The A. s. in all instances shows *i* (= vocalized *j*). Thus:

<i>harja</i> -, "army, host."		<i>haírdja</i> -, "shepherd."	
Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
N. harjis	harjōs	haírdeis	haírdjōs
V. hari	—	haírdi	—
A. hari	harjans	haírdi	haírdjans
D. harja	harjam	haírdja	haírdjam
G. harjis	harjē.	haírdeis	haírdjē.

Like *harja*- decline *niþja*-, "kinsman"; and like *haírdja*-, *andja*-, "end," (which, however, makes A. pl. *andins*, Rom. x. 18); *hwaitja*-, "wheat"; *lēkja*-, "physician"; *sipōnja*-, "disciple"; *bōkarja*-, "scribe"; *laisarja*-, "teacher"; and the like. (*Ubil*-)*tōja*- (*tō*-, long and open<sup>2</sup>), "(evil-)doer," gives N. s. *-tōjis*; the V. & A. do not occur; if they did, we should expect *-taui*, by § 26 (4, v).

(iii) In masc. *wa*-stems the *w* before *s* and in *fine* becomes *u* after a short radical vowel, but after a long vowel it persists (§ 29 (1, vi)); e. g.:

<sup>1</sup> For the final *f* (*fs*)=interior *b*, see § 31 (5).

<sup>2</sup> "Closed," i. e., ended by a consonant (as *har*-, *niþ*-, &c.); "open," not so ended (*tō*-).

<sup>3</sup> This includes length by "position," as it is called in classical prosody (as, *haírd*-, i. e., *herd*-). After such roots the suffix was once probably of the form *-ia*.

*piwa-*, "servant, slave."

	Sing.	Plur.
N. <i>pius</i>		<i>piwōs</i>
V. <i>piu</i>		—
A. <i>piu</i>		<i>piwans</i>
D. <i>piwa</i>		<i>piwam</i>
G. <i>piwis</i>		<i>piwē.</i>

*saiwa-*, "sea."

	Sing.	Plur.
N. <i>saiws</i>		<i>saiwōs</i>
V. <i>saiw</i>		—
A. <i>saiw</i>		<i>saiwans</i>
D. <i>saiwa</i>		<i>saiwam</i>
G. <i>saiwis</i>		<i>saiwē.</i>

Like *saiwa-* decline *snaiwa-*, "snow."

(iv) When a stem ends in *sa-* (*za-*), only one *s* appears in the N. s., which is consequently identical in form with the V. & A.; as: *-halsa-* (in compounds), "neck" (*ĥals*), N. V. A. *-hals*, D. *-halsa*, &c.;—*anza-*, "beam (of wood)," N. V. A. *\*ans*, D. *anza*, &c.

(v) If a stem ends in *ra-* preceded by a vowel the *s* of the N. s. does not appear; as: *waira-*, "a man," (Lat. *viro-*), N. V. A. *wair*, D. *waira*, &c. But if a consonant precedes *ra-*, the *s* appears as usual; as: *akra-*, "field," (L. *agro-*), N. *akrs*, V. A. *akr*, D. *akra*, &c.

(vi) Two words (like *andja-* in (ii) above) show assimilation to the *i*-declension in one case of the plural, viz.: *aiwa-*, N. s. *aiws*, "time, duration," but A. pl. *aiwins* (not *-ans*); *wēga-*, "wave," but D. pl. *wēgim* (not *-am*).

(2) *Neuters*: (i) stems in *a*. Examples:*juka-*, "yoke."

	Sing.	Plur.
N. A. <i>juk</i>		<i>juka</i>
D. <i>juka</i>		<i>jukam</i>
G. <i>jukis</i>		<i>jukē.</i>

*haubida-*, "head."

	Sing.	Plur.
N. <i>haubiþ</i> <sup>4</sup>		<i>haubida</i>
D. <i>haubida</i>		<i>haubidam</i>
G. <i>haubidis</i>		<i>haubidē.</i>

Similarly are declined: *barna-*, "child"; *haurna-*, "horn"; *hunsla-*, N. A. *hunsl*<sup>5</sup>, "a sacrifice"; *huzda-*, "treasure"; *maurþra-*, "murder"; *tagra-*, "a tear"; *tagla-*, "a hair"; *waúrda-*, "word"; *witōda-* (N. s. *witōþ*), "law"; and many more.

(ii) The neut. *ja*-substantives, like the preceding, differ from the masc. in the N. s., which is identical in form with the A. s., and in the N. & A. pl. Examples:

*kunja-*, "a race, generation."

	Sing.	Plur.
N. A. <i>kuni</i>		<i>kunja</i>
D. <i>kunja</i>		<i>kunjam</i>
G. <i>kunjis</i>		<i>kunjē.</i>

*andbahtja-*, "service."

	Sing.	Plur.
N. <i>andbahti</i>		<i>andbahtja</i>
D. <i>andbahtja</i>		<i>andbahtjam</i>
G. <i>andbahtjis</i> (and <i>-eis</i> )		<i>andbahtjē.</i>

<sup>4</sup> See § 31 (5).<sup>5</sup> For the "new sonant" or "syllabic" values of *r*, *l*, *m*, *n*, see §§ 27, 28.

Like *kunja-* are declined *badja-*, “bed”; *fairgunja-*, “mountain”; *frapja-*, “understanding”; *gauja-* (N. A. s., *gawi*), “land, region”; *hauja-* (N. A. s., *hawi*), “grass, (hay)”; *kunþja-*, “knowledge”; *natja-*, “net”; *reikja-*, “rule, power”; *tōja-* (N. A. s., *tauī*, § 26 (4,v)), “a deed”; but *valdufaja-*, “authority,” and perhaps the similar neuters (§ 41 (7)), have G. s. *-jis* and *-eis*.

In the G. s. we should expect *-eis* under the conditions given for masculines in (1, ii) above; but only two neuters—*traustja-*, “covenant,” and *faúra-maþlja-*, “governorship”—show *-eis* only: in most other instances *-eis* interchanges with *-jis*; and *kunþja-*, *reikja-*, and *fairgunja-* show *-jis* only.

(iii) Neuters in *-wa* vocalize *w* in the N. & A. s. after a short vowel, but preserve it after a long one; as: *kniwa-*, “knee,” N. A. s. *kniu*, D. *kniwa*, G. *kniwis*; N. A. plur. *kniwa*; &c.; but *fraiwa-*, “seed,” N. A. s. *fraiw*, D. *fraiwa*, G. *fraiwis*; N. A. pl. *fraiwa*, &c. Like *kniwa-* is declined the only other similar subst. extant, viz., *triwa-*, “a staff, bludgeon,” prop. “wood” (our *tree*);—like *fraiwa-*: *hlaiwa-*, “tomb”; *lēwa-*, “occasion”; *alēwa-*, “oil”; and one or two more.

(iv) Neuts. in *-iza* generally show *s* in N. & A. sing.; as: stem *hatiza-*, N. A. *hatis*, “hatred”; *diuza-*, N. A. \**dilus*, “wild beast”; &c. As to the *s* and *z*, see §§ 30 (2) and 40 (4).

(v) *Guda-*, “a god,” is properly neut., and so appears in the plur. (*guda* = “gods, idols”); in the sing. (= “God”) it is always a masculine in sense, although it maintains its neut. form (N. V. A. *guþ*): the D. G. s. should be \**guda*, \**gudis* (§ 33 (3) above); but in the MSS. there occur only the contracted forms *gþa*, *gþs*, which are generally resolved into *guþa*, *guþs*; but there is no reason why the latter should not be *gupis*.

(vi) The neut. *fadreina-*\*, “race, lineage,”—in plur., “fathers, ancestors,”—is used in the N. & A. s. (with or without the article) as a collective = a masc. plur.,—(*þai*, *þans*) *fadrein*, “the parents.”

(3) *Feminines*: (i) Here, in N. & A. s.,  $\bar{o} = \bar{a}$  appears as  $\bar{a}$  (§ 35 (2, ii)), and the D. ends in *ai*: the *jō*-stems based on a *short radical syllable* follow the normal declension.—**Examples:**

\* Apparently a neut. adj. from *fadar*; cf. *sweina-*, *quineina-*, &c., in § 40 (2, x). An abstract fem. subst. in *-ni* (*fadreini-*), also meaning “race, lineage,” occurs once (in the G. sing.); and should be distinguished from the former.

<i>gibō-</i> , "a gift."			<i>sunjō-</i> , "truth."		
	Sing.	Plur.		Sing.	Plur.
N. V. A.	<i>giba</i>	<i>gibōs</i>		<i>sunja</i>	* <i>sunjōs</i>
D.	<i>gibai</i>	<i>gibōm</i>		<i>sunjai</i>	* <i>sunjōm</i>
G.	<i>gibōs</i>	<i>gibō.</i>		<i>sunjōs</i>	* <i>sunjō.</i>

Like *gibō-* are declined: *ahwō-* (= Lat. *aquā-*), "water, flood"; *bidō-*, "prayer"; *hairdō-*, "herd, flock"; *hweilō-*, "hour, time"; *piudō-*, "a people, folk"; *nēplō-*, "needle"; *runō-*, "a secret, mystery"; *saiwalō-*, "soul"; *stibnō-*, "voice"; *wambō-*, "belly"; *wullō-*, "wool"; and many more. Substantives like *sunjō-* are few, and occur only in detached cases; such are: *banjō-*, "a wound"; *haljō-*, "hell"; *sibjō-*, "relationship"; *wipjō-*, "a crown"; *winjō-*, "pasture."

(ii) But when the base of a *jō*-stem is either one long syllable, or consists of two or more syllables, the Nom. s. appears as *i* (for older *ī* = \**j<sub>A</sub>*).—Examples:

<i>bandjō-</i> , "band, bond."		<i>piudangardjō-</i> , "kingdom."		
	Sing.	Plur.		
N. V.	<i>bandi</i>	<i>bandjōs</i>	<i>piudangardi</i>	<i>piudangardjōs</i>
A.	<i>bandja</i>	<i>bandjōs</i>	<i>piudangardja</i>	<i>piudangardjōs</i>
D.	<i>bandjai</i>	<i>bandjōm</i>	<i>piudangardjai</i>	<i>piudangardjōm</i>
G.	<i>bandjōs</i>	<i>bandjō.</i>	<i>piudangardjōs</i>	<i>piudangardjō.</i>

Similarly are declined: *aquizjō-*, "axe"; *fraistubnjō-*, "temptation"; *haiþjō-*, "field, heath"; *jukuzjō-*, "a yoke" (fig.); *lauhmunjō-*, "lightning"; and a few more. But *maujō-*, "girl, damsel," (for \**magwjō-*, from *magu-*, "boy,") and *piujō-*, "maid, handmaid," (from *piwa-*, *pius*,—see (1) above,) turn their *u* into *w* before the *i* of the N. s.,—N. *mawi*, A. *mauja*, D. *maujai*, &c.; N. *piwi*, A. *piuja*, D. *piujai*, &c.

(iii) *wō*-stems follow *gibō-* throughout; as: *triggwō-*, "a covenant," N. A. *triggwa*, D. *triggwai*, &c. So also: *bandwō-*, "sign, token"; *friapwō-*, "love"; *fiþapwō-*, "enmity"; and two or three more.

49. The *Vowel Declensions*, continued: Stems in *i* (m. & f. only).

(1) *Masculines*: the sing. resembles *a*-nouns in form.—Example:

<i>balgi-</i> , "bottle (of leather)."		
	Sing.	Plur.
N.	<i>balgs</i>	<i>balgeis</i>
V.	<i>balg</i>	—
A.	<i>balg</i>	<i>balgins</i>
D.	<i>balga</i>	<i>balgim</i>
G.	<i>balgis</i>	<i>balgē.</i>

Like *balgi-* are declined: *armi-*, "the arm"; *gardi-*, "house"; *gasti-*, "stranger, guest"; *hupi-*, "the hip"; *brupfadi-* (N. *-faps*), "bridegroom"; and a few more.

Substs. in *si* show only one *s* in the N. sing.; as: *urrunsi-*, "a rising, a going forth," N. A. s. *urruns*; and those in *ri* preceded by a vowel show no *s* at all; as: *baúri-*, "one born, a son," N. A. s. *baúr*. (See § 48 (1, v).)

*Nawi-*, "a dead man, a corpse," makes N. sing. *naws*, A. *\*nau*; N. pl. *naweis*, A. *nawins*. (The other cases, like the A. sing., are not extant.)

(2) *Feminines*.—Example :

*ansti-*, "grace, bounty."

Sing.	Plur.
N. ansts	ansteis
V. anst	—
A. anst	anstins
D. anstai	anstim
G. anstais	anstē.

So also: *arbaidi-*, "labour" (N. s. *arbaiþs*, A. *arbaiþ*); *daili-*, "a part, share"; *dēdi-* (in compounds), "deed" (N. s. strictly *dēþs*); *fahedi-*, "joy" (N. s. *-þs*); *fralusti-*, "perdition"; *guhugdi-*, "mind, thought"; *gaquumpi-*, "assembly, synagogue"; *mikildupi-*, "greatness"; *quēni-*, "wife, woman"; *siuni-*, "sight"; *taikni-*, "token, sign"; and many more.

Of the abstract substs. in *-ni* derived from the three conjugations of wk. act. verbs (§ 40 (2, xii, xiii)), those in *aini* and *ōni* are perfectly regular; as: *libaini-*, "life," N. *libains*, A. *libain*, D. *libainai*, &c.; *mitōni-*, "thought," N. s. *mitōns*, A. *mitōn*, N. pl. *mitōneis*, A. *mitōnins*; &c. But those in *eini* make the N. & G. plural like those of the *ō*-declension (§ 48 (3)); as: *laiseini-*, "doctrine," Plur. N. *laiseinōs*, A. *laiseinins*, D. *laiseinim*, G. *laiseinō*. One such noun also appears with *-ōm* in the D. pl., viz., *unkaúreinōm*, stem *unkaúreini-*, lit. "unburdensomeness." *Haimi-*, "village," regular in the sing., forms the whole plur. on the pattern of the *ō*-fems.,—N. A. *haimōs*, D. *haimōm*, G. *haimō*. Fems. (like masc.) in *si* do not show any additional *s* in the N. sing.; as: *garunsi-*, "street, market-place," N. A. s. *garuns*; *gaquissi-*, "agreement," N. A. s. *gaquiss*.

50. *Vowel Declensions* concluded: Stems in *u* (m., f., & n.).

(1) *Masculines* and *Feminines*. These may here be coupled, as the case-endings are the same for both.—Examples :

<i>sunu-</i> (m.), "son."		<i>handu-</i> (f.), "hand."	
Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
N. <i>sunus</i>	<i>sunjus</i>	<i>handus</i>	<i>handjus</i>
V. <i>sunu</i>	—	<i>handu</i>	—
A. <i>sunu</i>	<i>sununs</i>	<i>handu</i>	<i>handuns</i>
D. <i>sunau</i>	<i>sunum</i>	<i>handau</i>	<i>handum</i>
G. <i>sunaus</i>	<i>suniwē</i>	<i>handaus</i>	<i>handiwē</i> .

Similarly are declined the masculines : *airu-*, "ambassador, messenger"; *asilu-*, "ass" (also *fem.*); *daupu-*, "death"; *fōtu-*, "foot"; *hliftu-*, "thief, (-lifter)"; *hūhru-*, "hunger"; *lustu-*, "desire, lust"; *magu-*, "boy, servant"; *skadu-*, "shadow"; *skildu-*, "shield"; *tunpu-*, "tooth"; *þaurnu-*, "thorn"; *wandu-*, "rod, wand"; *wintru-*, "winter"; *wipru-*, "lamb" (our "*wether*") ; and others ; especially the words in *-assu-*,—as *ibnassu-*, "evenness, equality," &c. (§ 41 (2, viii)). Also the feminines : *asilu-*, "she-ass"; *kinnu-*, "cheek"; and one or two more.

The gender of *flōdu-* (m.), "flood," and *quairnu-* (f.), "mill, quern," is not quite certain.

Substs. in *-ju* follow the same pattern ; as : *stubju-* (m.), "dust" (*Staub*), N. *stubjus*, V. A. *stubju*, D. *stubjau*, G. *stubjaus*. So also *drunju-* (m.), "sound"; *-waddju-* (in compounds), (f.), "wall." The plural of these words does not occur.

The above paradigms show the normal *u*-declension ; but in many detached instances either *au* appears for *u* (as N. s. *sunaus*, A. s. *handau*, and the like) ; or, reversely, *u* appears for *au* (as D. s. *sunu*, G. s. *daupus*, and the like).

(2) *Neuters*. These are rare ; and only odd cases of the sing. occur ; as : *faihu-*, "money, riches," N. A. *faihu*, D. *faithau*. *Gairu* (N. s.), "goad," and *sihu* (A. s.), "victory," occur only once, and in glosses. The G. s. is certified by *filaus*, gen. of the pronominal *filu-*, "much."

51. The *Consonant Declensions* : Stems in *-n*. These are of all three genders.

(1) *Masculines*.—Example :

<i>guman-</i> , "man."	
Sing.	Plur.
N. V. <i>guma</i>	<i>gumans</i>
A. <i>guman</i>	<i>gumans</i>
D. <i>gumin</i>	<i>gumam</i>
G. <i>gumins</i>	<i>gumanē</i> .



Like *guman-* are declined: *ahman-*, "spirit"; *arhjan-*, "heir"; *attan-*, "father"; *blōman-*, "flower, (bloom)"; *fiskjan-*, "fisherman"; *fraujan-*, "lord, master"; *galjan-*, "eros"; *gudjan-*, "priest"; *hanan-*, "cock"; *mēnan-*, "moon"; *sinistan-*, "an elder"; *smakkan-*, "fig"; *sparwan-*, "sparrow"; *sunnan-*, "sun"; *wairstujan-*, "labourer"; and many more.

*Aban-*, "man, husband," and *aúhsan-*, "ox," make, in the D. & G. plur., *abnam*, *abnē*, and *\*aúhsnam*, *aúhsnē*. (See the two similar neuters in (3) below.)

(2) *Feminines*. The suffix-vowel preceding the *n* may be *ō*, or *ei=ī* (§ 40 (2)), but the inflexional changes are the same for both sets of stems.—Examples :

<i>tungōn-</i> , "tongue."		<i>managein-</i> , "multitude."	
Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
N. V. <i>tungō</i>	<i>tungōns</i>	<i>managei</i>	<i>manageins</i>
A. <i>tungōn</i>	<i>tungōns</i>	<i>managein</i>	<i>manageins</i>
D. <i>tungōn</i>	<i>tungōm</i>	<i>managein</i>	<i>manageim</i>
G. <i>tungōns</i>	<i>tungōnō</i>	<i>manageins</i>	<i>manageinō</i>

Like *tungōn-* are declined: *aglōn-*, "tribulation"; *brinnōn-*, "fever"; *haiþnōn-*, "heathen-woman"; *kalbōn-*, "calf"; *mizdōn-*, "pay, hire"; *quinōn-*, "woman"; *raþjōn-*, "number, reckoning"; *sunnōn-* (See also *sunnan-* above), "the sun"; *stairnōn-*, "star"; *ūhtwōn-*, "dawn, morning"; and many more.—Like *managein-*: *airzein-*, "error"; *baîtrein-*, "bitterness"; *balþein-*, "boldness"; *bleiþein-*, "kindness"; *braidein-*, "breadth"; *diuþein-*, "depth"; *faúrhtein-*, "fear"; *friþein-*, "freedom"; *frōðein-*, "wisdom"; *garaihtein-*, "righteousness"; *hauþein-*, "height"; *langein-*, "length"; *mikilein-*, "greatness"; *siukein-*, "sickness"; *swinþein-*, "strength"; *paúrstein-*, "thirst"; and many more.

A few subst. in *-ein* are concrete; as: *aþþein-*, "mother"; *marein-*, "sea"; *hwaírnein-*, "skull"; and one or two others.

(3) *Neuters*. These show *ō* in the N. & A., s. & pl. (§ 40 (2, v)): the D. & G., s. & pl., agree with the masculines.—Example :

*háirtan-*, "heart."

	Sing.	Plur.
N. V. A.	<i>háirtō</i>	<i>háirtōna</i>
D.	<i>háirtin</i>	<i>háirtam</i>
G.	<i>háirtins</i>	<i>háirtanē</i>

Similarly are declined: *augan-*, "eye"; *ausan-*, "ear";

*kaúrnan-*, "a corn or grain"; *sigljan-*, "a seal"; and two or three more.

*Naman-*, "name," and *watan-*, "water," suppress the stem-vowel in the plural; but the only extant plural cases are: N. & A. *namna*; D. *watnam*. In the sing. they follow *hairtan-*.

More irregular is *fōn-* (or *fōna-*?), "fire," N. A. *fōn*, but D. *funin*, G. *funins*<sup>1</sup>. The plur. does not occur.

(4) *Deminutives* are formed by *-lan*, and, as in Latin, follow the gender of their bases; as: *magulan-* (m.), "little boy," from *magu-* (m.); *mawilōn-* (f.), "young girl," from *mawjō-*, N. s. *mawi* (f.); and *barnilan-* (n.), "little child," from *barna-* (n.). Add *Wulfilan-* (§ 4), from *wulfa-*.

## 52. Other Consonant Declensions.

(1) *Nouns of family relationship* in *-þar* (*-þr*). These, in the N. A. D. pl. are shunted on to the *u*-declension (§ 39 (4)).—Example:

*brōþar-*, "brother."

	Sing.	Plur.
N. V.	<i>brōþar</i>	<i>brōþrjus</i>
A.	<i>brōþar</i>	<i>brōþrun</i>
D.	<i>brōþr</i>	<i>brōþrum</i>
G.	<i>brōþrs</i>	<i>brōþrē</i> .

Of this word all the cases occur. Of *fadar-* only the V. (or N.?) sing. is found, and that but once. The two feminines *daúhtar-*, "daughter," and *swistar-*, "sister," are declined like *brōþar-*. \**Mōðar*, "mother," appears to be extinct (see Note <sup>3</sup> to § 31).

(2) *Participial substantives* in *-nd*. These are really the old active ptps.; but they now denote agents, and are all masc. In the G. s. and D. pl. they appear to have been assimilated to the *a*-declension (§ 48 (1)).—Example:

*fijand-*, "enemy."

	Sing.	Plur.
N.	<i>fijands</i>	<i>fijands</i>
V. A.	<i>fijand</i>	<i>fijands</i>
D.	<i>fijand</i>	<i>fijandam</i>
G.	<i>fijandis</i>	<i>fijandē</i> .

The other instances are: *bisitand-*, "neighbour"; *daupjand-*, "baptizer, 'Baptist'"; *fraujinōnd-*, "Lord, ruler"; *frawei-*

<sup>1</sup> *Fōn* and *fun* are varieties of one root: see J. Schmidt, KZ. XXVI. 16-19.

*tand-*, "avenger"; *giband-*, "giver"; *mērijand-*, "preacher" (but the A. s. *ptcp.*, *mērijandan* occurs in Rom. x. 1 f); *frījōnd-*, "friend"; *midumōnd-*, "mediator"; *nasjand-*, "saviour"; *talzjand-*, "teacher"; *-waldand-* (in compounds), "ruler." But of the majority of these words only a single case occurs.

(3) *Mēnōþ-* (m.), "month," differs from the pattern of *fjand-* in the G. s. & D. pl.: the endings which it presents in these cases are probably those that strictly belong to consonantal stems (cf. *brōþrs*, *brōþrum*, above). Its full declension is:

Sing. N. *mēnōþs*, A. *\*mēnōþ*, D. *mēnōþ*, G. *mēnōþs*<sup>1</sup>;  
Plur. „ *\*mēnōþs*, „ *mēnōþs*, „ *mēnōþum*, „ *\*mēnōþē*.

Here, or in (2), may perhaps be placed N. s. *weitwōds*, A. s. *weitwōd*, "a witness," of which the N. pl. is also *weitwōds*, G. pl. *weitwōdē*. Some grammarians make the word an *a-noun* (stem *weitwōda-*) which has been assimilated to the consonant declension (cf. *reika-*, § 48 (1, i)).

(4) *Feminines*. These have stems that end in a *guttural* or *dental*: they follow the *i*-declension in the D. pl.—Example:

*baúrg-*, "city."

	Sing.	Plur.
N.	<i>baúrgs</i>	<i>baúrgs</i>
A.	<i>baúrg</i>	<i>baúrgs</i>
D.	<i>baúrg</i>	<i>baúrgim</i>
G.	<i>baúrgs</i>	<i>baúrgē</i> .

The other instances are: *alh-*, "temple"; *brust-* (always *plur.* and = "bowels" of the E. V.), "breast"; *dulþ-*, "feast, festival"; *miluk-*, "milk"; *mitad-* (N. s. *-þs*), "measure"; *naht-*, "night"; *spaurd-*, "stadium, race-course"; *wáiht-*, "thing, fact." But *naht-* has, in D. plur., *nahtam* only. Of *dulþ-* and *wáiht-* duplicates in *-i* occur; as: D. s. *dulþ* and *dulþai*, G. *dulþais*;—G. s. *wáihts* and *wáihtais*, A. pl. *wáihts* and *wáihtins*.

(5) The paradigm of the word for "man" is made up from complementary cases based on the *a-*, *an-*, and simple consonant stems *mann-*, *mannan-*, and *man-*<sup>2</sup>; thus:—

<sup>1</sup> Some editors of Ulf. put the G. s. as *mēnōþis*; but, according to Upström, this is contrary to the MS.

<sup>2</sup> In *mana-sēdi-*, "mankind," and *mana-maurþrijan-*, "man-murderer," we have yet another form of stem.—Schleicher (Comp.) cites *man-* (in the G. s. and N. A. plur.) as the only instance in which, in north Europe, a root is used directly as a noun-stem.

	Sing.	Plur.
N.	manna	mannans <i>or</i> mans
A.	mannan	mannans <i>or</i> mans
D.	mann	mannam
G.	mans	mannē.

53. *Borrowed substantives.* These may be arranged in two main strata:—

(1) Words that were probably already naturalized and regularly declined in Gothic when Ulfilas wrote; as: *alēwa-* (n.), “oil,” = Lat. *oleo-* for \**olewo-*; *akeita-* (n.), “vinegar,” = L. *acēto-*; *arkō-* (f.), “box, ark,” = L. *arcā-*; *asilu-*<sup>1</sup> (m. & f.), “ass,” = L. *asino-*; *aurkja-* (m.), “pot,” = L. *urceo-*; *auralja-* (n.), “napkin,” = L. *ōrāli-*; *faskjan-* (m.), “bandage,” = L. *fasciā-* (f.); *karkarō-* (f.), “prison,” = L. *carcer-* (m.); *Krēka-* (m.), “a Greek,” L. *Graeco-*; *kubitu-* (m.), “a reclining at table,” = L. (*ac-*)*cubitu-*; *lukarna-* (n.), “lamp, candle,” = L. *lucernā-* (f.); *marikreitu-* (m.), “pearl,” = Grk. *μαργαριτᾶ-*; *plappjō-* (f.), perhaps misspelt for *platjō-*, “street,” = L. *plateā-*; *punda-* (n.), “a pound,” = L. indecl. *pondo*; *sigljan-* (n.), “a seal,” = L. *signo-*; *ulbandu-* (m.), “camel,” = L. *elephanto-* or *elephant-* (m.), Grk. *ἐλεφαντ-*; and perhaps two or three more. The declension of all the foregoing is sufficiently indicated by the suffix-vowel. With these may be ranged a few well-known proper names; as: *Iaírusaúlymō-* (f.) = Jerusalem (but see also (2, ii) below); *Kaisara-* = Caesar; *Krētō-* (f.) = Crete; *Makidōnjō-* (f.) = Macedonia; and *Rūmō-* = *Rōmā-*.

(2) Words, especially proper names, necessarily introduced with the scriptures themselves. These are but imperfectly adjusted to the various Gothic declensions, and show many irregularities. Examples:

(i) *a*-declension: *Adama-* (but N. *Adam*), “Adam”; *Iēsua-*, N. *Iēsus*, “Jesus,” A. *Iēsu*, D. *Iēsua* and *Iēsu*, G. *Iēsuis*; *Laúwija-* (which follows *haírdja-*, § 48 (1)) = “Levi”; and others.—Some feminines that show *ǣ* in the N.—as *Galatīa*, *Kileikia*, *Seidōna*, and *Syria*, with its byform *Saura*—make their G. in *-ais*, like the *i*-fems. (§ 49 (2)).

(ii) To the *i*-declension belong the national names of peoples; as: *Makidōni-*, “a Macedonian”; *Rumōni-*, “a Roman”; *Sauri-*, “a Syrian”; *Seidōni-*, “a Sidonian”; *Tyri-*, “a Tyrian.” The sing., *Naiman sa Saur*, “Naaman the Syrian,” occurs (Luke iv. 27); but generally these nouns are plurals,—N. *-eis*, D. *-im*, G. *-ē*. Of some, duplicate

<sup>1</sup> Grimm, however, considers this a native word.

stems occur; as: *Gaúmaúrreis*, N. pl., "people of Gomor-rha," but D. *Gaúmaúrjam*;—*Saúdaúmeis*, N. pl., "people of Sodom," but D. *Saúdaúmim* or *Saúdaúmjam*, G. -*jē*;—\**Apeineis*, D. *Apeinim*, "Athens," is plural as in Grk.;—*Iaírusaúlymeis*, D. -*mim* and -*miam*, "Jerusalem," is also plural.

(iii) Under the *u*-declension fall Grk. and Lat. masc. *o*-nouns, at least in the sing.; as: *Paítru-*, "Peter"; *Teítu-*, "Titus"; *aípiskáupu-* = *ἐπισκοπο-*, "bishop"; *apaústaúlu-* = *ἀποστολο-*, "apostle"; but in such plurals as occur there is oscillation between *i*- and *u*-forms; as: *angilu-*, "angel," N. plur. *angiljus* and *angileis*, G. *angilē* only;—*sabbatu-*, "sabbath," D. plur. *sabbatum* and *sabbatim*, G. *sabbatō*.

(iv) To the weak or *n*-declension are adjusted those masc. proper nouns of which the Grk. N. ends in -*a* or -*as* (which stands in Ulf.) or in -*ō*, -*ōn*; as: N. \**Iōra*, Jora, G. *Iorins*;—N. *Annas*, *Kajafa*, D. *Annin*, *Kajafin*;—N. *Apaúllō*, *Symaiōn*, G. *Apaúllōns*, *Symaiōns*;—also fems. in (N.) -*ō* and -*ei*; as: N. *Iaireikō*, "Jericho," D. *Iaireikōn*;—N. *Bēpsfagei* = *Βηθσφαγή*, D. *Bēpsfagein*.—To the *n*-declension regularly belongs the important subst. *aíkklēsjōn-* (f.) = *ἐκκλησιᾶ-*, "church" (N. -*jō*, G. -*jōns*, &c.);—(τὸ) *εὐαγγέλιον*, "the gospel," is rendered both by the fem. *aúwangēljōn-* and the neut. *aúwangēlja-*.—Remarkable is: N. *Marja* and *Mariam*, Mary, A. *Marjan* and *Marian*, D. *Marjin*, G. *Marjins*; but other fems. with the properly masc. suffix -*an* also occur; as: *Marþan-*, Martha; *Sarran-*, Sarah.

(v) Mixed forms. These are generally due to a mere transliteration of some of the cases of words as they actually stood in the original Greek, while other cases of the same words are passed through a Gothic mould; thus: N. *Bēpania* = *ἡ Βηθανία*, A. *Bēpanian*, G. (af) *Bēpanias* = (ἀπὸ) *Βηθανίας*; but D. *Bēpaniin* and -*ijin*;—N. s. *aípistaúlē* = *ἐπιστολή*, but D. *aípistaúlein*, A. pl. *aípistaúlans*, D. pl. *aípistaúlēm*;—N. s. *synagōgē* = *συναγωγή*, A. *synagōgēn* and -*gein*, D. *synagōgein*, -*gēn*, -*gē*, and -*gai*, and G. *synagōgais*;—N. s. *praúfētēs* = *προφήτης*, but G. *praúfētis*, like *a*-nouns; or N. s. *praúfētus*, A. *praúfētu*, &c., like *u*-nouns. The indifference to uniformity becomes striking when varieties of one case occur close together; as: G. s. *praúfētaus* and -*tis*, both in Mt. x. 41;—G. s. *Mattapiaus* in Luke iii. 26, but in 25 *Mattapiwis*, as if the second half of the name (N. s.) *Matta-pius* were the Go. *þius*, stem *þiwa-* (§ 48 (1)). Detached instances are: *Nazōrēnaí*, voc. = *Ναζαρηνέ!* *alabalstraún*, acc. = *ἀλάβαστρον*; *assarjau* = *ἄσσαριόν* (Mt. x. 29); *arōmata*, acc. pl. = *ἀρώματα*; &c.—Indeclinable are: *Aíleisabaíþ*, *Bēþlahaím*,

*Kafarnaum, sabbatō* (but see (iii) above), *paska*, "the pass-over," *manna*, "manna"; and others. But perhaps the most curious examples of all are those in which the Gothic declension of a word is suggested by an oblique case of the Greek; *e.g.*: the *o* in the Grk. G. s. (ἐκ) *Τιβεριάδος* (John vi. 23) appears to have suggested an *o-* (= Go. *u-*) stem, and is rendered by (*us*) *Tibairiadau* (dat.); and the *α* in the A. s. (διὰ) *Ἡρωδιάδα* (Mark vi. 17) suggested an *n*-stem (*-da, -dan, -din, -dins*), and is rendered by (*in*) *Hairōdiadins* (gen.), lit., "for the sake of Herodiada."

(β) ADJECTIVES (including *Participles* and *Numerals*).

54. (1) The I-E. Adjective and Substantive were once probably identical; and the former was differentiated from the latter by its gradual appropriation to the discharge of prædicative and attributive functions. From its continual juxtaposition with substantives of different genders there ultimately resulted, by assimilation, a variety of gender in one and the same individual adjective,—a variety systematically established in (for example) the "three-gender" adjectives of Greek and Latin<sup>1</sup>. But the Gothic Adjective (and the Teutonic generally) exhibits certain special features that require careful study. In the first place its declensions are to be arranged as Vowel (or Strong) and as *n* (or Weak); but whereas each substantive is declinable after *one* paradigm, and one only; almost every adjective is declinable *both* after a strong *and* after a weak paradigm. Which form it shall assume is determined by syntactic conditions,—the weak adj. being generally used in company with the article, and the strong when such limitation is absent. The weak is hence sometimes called the Definite, and the strong the Indefinite, declension. The definite follows the pattern of the *n*-substantives, and may stand aside for the present. The indefinite declension (and this is the second point to note) differs widely from the vowel-declensions of the substantive: for in both numbers and in all three genders the strong adjectives show a series of inflexional endings which are mostly identical with those of the simple pronouns *i-*, *þa-*, *hwa-* (§§ 62, 64, 66, below)<sup>2</sup>.

(2) In the long-current explanation of the Strong adjective declension—first proposed by Bopp—the endings are attributed to the fusion with the simple adjective-stem (say *blind-*

<sup>1</sup> See Brugm., KZ. XXIV. 34+, and Pott, "Geschlecht," in *Allgem. Enk.*

<sup>2</sup> Hence, once more, the Strong is also sometimes called the "Pronominal" declension.

or *blinda-*, "blind") of the complete paradigm of the old pronoun *ja-* (Skt. *jas*, *jā*, *jad* = Grk. *ὄς*, *ῆ*, *ὄ*, (relative), ∴ = a Go. *\*jis*, *\*jō*, *\*jata*, accus. *\*jana*, *\*jō*, *\*jata*, &c.). This view appears to be supported by the Lith. and Slav., which show a paradigm thus constructed; but for the Teutonic it is open to serious phonetic and other objections<sup>3</sup>. Schleicher therefore and other scholars refer the strong adjective declension directly to the pronominal declension. Schleicher points out—and his views have been ably expanded by Sievers<sup>4</sup>—that certain adjectives ("all," "one," "other," &c.) are often regarded as pronouns: several of such were probably declined like pronouns in the *Ursprache*; and the Latin answers thereto with its declension of *totus*, *unus*, *alius*, &c.<sup>5</sup> Sievers therefore assumes that from such common words as these the pronominal system of inflexions gradually extended, in Teutonic, to all adjectives, and was kept in place and in form (yet not completely) by the influence of the simple pronouns,—especially of the incessantly-used *pa-*. To this influence may very likely be ascribed the preservation of the final *i* (See § 35 (2, ii)) in the N. pl. masc. (*blindai*, &c.); as well as the appearance of a final vowel in A. s. m. (*blindana*), and likewise, perhaps, the duplicate N. & A. s. neut. in *-ata*. Certain cases of the strong adjectives will still, however, be recognized as following the substantive rather than the pronoun (where the two differ).

55. The *Vowel (or Strong) Declensions*: (i) Stems in *-a* (fem. *-ō*).—Example:

*blinda-*, "blind."

	masc.	neut.	fem.
Sing. N.	blinds	blind, blindata	blinda
A.	blindana	blind, blindata	blinda
D.	blindamma	blindamma	blindai
G.	blindis	blindis	blindaizōs
Plur. N.	blindai	blinda	blindōs
A.	blindans	blinda	blindōs
D.	blindaim	blindaim	blindaim
G.	blindaizē	blindaizē	blindaizō.

Like *blinda-* are declined: *arma-*, "miserable"; *dauba-*

<sup>3</sup> Thus *blind-* should give, in Go., N. s. m. *\*blindeis*, A. *\*blindjana*, &c. (cf. *hairdeis*, *hairdjans*, § 48 (1, ii)).

<sup>4</sup> PBB. II. 98–124.

<sup>5</sup> It deserves mention that Scherer, "Zur Gesch." 2nd ed., maintains the older view: the discussion is therefore by no means ended.

(N. s. *daufs*<sup>1</sup>, *dauf*<sup>1</sup>, *dauba*), "deaf, dumb"; *gōda-* (N. s. *gōps*<sup>1</sup>, *gōp*<sup>1</sup>, *gōda*), "good"; *hauha-*, "high"; *hweita-*, "white"; *junga-*, "young"; *langa-*, "long" (used of time only); *leitila-*, "little"; *mikila-*, "great"; *swarta-*, "black"; *ubila-*, "evil"; and many more.

(ii) Adj. (like subst.-) stems in *-sa* show no additional *s* in the N. s. m.; as: *swēsa-*, "one's-own," N. s. m. *swēs*; *gaquissa-*, "consentaneous," N. s. m. *gaquiss*.

(iii) But adjs. in *-ra* preceded by a *long* vowel (unlike similar substs.) *do* take *s* in N. s. m.; as: *swēra-*, "honoured," N. s. m. *swērs*; *gaura-*, "sad," N. s. m. *gaurs*;—just as when a consonant precedes; e. g.: *abra-*, "violent, mighty," N. s. m. *abrs*. No example occurs of the N. s. m. of an adj. in *ra* preceded by a *short* vowel; but from the pronominal forms, N. s. m. *anþar*, "other"; *unsar*, "our"; and the like, it is inferred that such adjs. did *not* take the *s*.

(iv) Adjs. in *ja* differ in the N. s. m. & f., like similar substs. (§ 48), according to the character of the base to which *ja* is attached. Example, with a short closed radical syllable<sup>2</sup>:

*midja-*, "mid, middle" (Lat. *medio*-).

	masc.	neut.	fem.
Sing. N.	<i>midjis</i>	<i>midī, midjata</i>	<i>midja</i>
A.	<i>midjana</i>	<i>midī, midjata</i>	<i>midja</i>
D.	<i>midjamma</i>	<i>midjamma</i>	<i>midjai</i>
G.	<i>midjis</i>	<i>midjis</i>	<i>midjaizōs</i>
Plur. N.	<i>midjai</i>	<i>midja</i>	<i>midjōs</i>
A.	<i>midjans</i>	<i>midja</i>	<i>midjōs</i>
D.	<i>midjaim</i>	<i>midjaim</i>	<i>midjaim</i>
G.	<i>midjaizē</i>	<i>midjaizē</i>	<i>midjaizō.</i>

Similarly, when the base is an open syllable<sup>2</sup>, as in *niu-ja-*, "new," we should have<sup>3</sup>: Sing. N. m. *niujis*, n. *niwi* or *niujata*, f. *niuja*; A. m. *niujana*, n. *niwi* or *niujata*, f. *niuja*; &c. &c. But when the base is a long syllable<sup>2</sup>, as in *wilþ-ja-*, "wild," the declension in the sing. should be<sup>3</sup> of the form—

	masc.	neut.	fem.
N.	<i>wilþeis</i>	<i>wilþī, wilþjata</i>	<i>wilþī</i>
A.	<i>wilþjana</i>	<i>wilþī, wilþjata</i>	<i>wilþja</i>
D.	<i>wilþjamma</i>	<i>wilþjamma</i>	<i>wilþjai</i>
G.	<i>wilþeis</i> (and <i>-jis</i> ?)	<i>wilþeis</i> (and <i>-jis</i> ?)	<i>wilþjaizōs</i> .

The plur. is like that of *midja-*. Like *midja-* and *niuja-*, decline: *un-sibja-*, "ungodly," and *fullatōja-*<sup>4</sup>, "perfect," *ubiltōja-*<sup>4</sup>, "evil-doing, maleficent";—and like *wilþja-*: *airzja-*,

<sup>1</sup> But *b* and *d* often persist: see § 31 (5).

<sup>2</sup> See Note <sup>2</sup> to § 48.

<sup>3</sup> "Should have," &c.; i. e., if all the cases were extant.

<sup>4</sup> These two words are used of persons only,—the latter, indeed, as a



"in-error, mistaken"; *alþja*-, "old"; *faírnja*-, "old, ancient"; and one or two more. The important adj. *frija*-, "free," makes the N. s. m. *freis* (i. e., *frīs* for *\*frijis*); the only other cases extant are: masc. A. s. *frijana*, N. pl. *frijai*, A. pl. *frijans*; and the whole of the fem. sing., N. & A. *frija*, D. *frijai*, G. *frijaizōs*.

(v) There are, in Ulf., only four adjs. in *-wa* preceded by a short vowel, viz.: *fawa*-, "little" (in quantity), in plur. = "few"; *lasiwa*-, "weak, feeble"; *quiwa*-, "living"; and *us-skawa*-, "vigilant." Of these a Nom. s. occurs (and that but once) only in the masc. *lasius*; we should have expected *\*lasius*. For *quiwa*- we may probably assume, for the N. s. m., *quius*, n. *quiu* and *quiwata*, f. *quiwa*; and for *fawa*-, *faus*, *fau* and *fawata*, *fawa*, (like *þius*, *kniu*, and *triggwa*, § 48); but as to the other there is some doubt whether we should say *us-skaus* or *us-skaws*.

56. The *Vowel Declensions*, continued: Stems in *-i*. This *-i*, however, which nowhere appears as such, is inferred either from the form of the N. s. fem., which takes *s* (like *anstis*, &c., § 49), or from derived adverbs in *-iba*, or from related words in other dialects. The N. s. m. & f. resemble those of the *i*-substantives (§ 49); the N. & A. s. neut. follow the *a*-subst.: in all the other extant cases of all genders and both numbers *ja* appears<sup>1</sup>, so that these cases are identical in suffix with the corresponding cases of *midja*- and *wilþja*- in § 55.—Example:

*hraini*- (*hrainja*-), "clean"<sup>2</sup>.

	masc.	neut.	fem.
Sing. N.	<i>hrains</i>	<i>hrain</i> , <i>hrainjata</i>	<i>hrains</i>
A.	<i>hrainjana</i>	<i>hrain</i> , <i>hrainjata</i>	<i>hrainja</i>
D.	<i>hrainjamma</i>	<i>hrainjamma</i>	<i>hrainjai</i>
G.	<i>hraineis</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>hraineis</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>hrainjaizōs</i>
Plur. N.	<i>hrainjai</i>	<i>hrainja</i>	<i>hrainjōs</i>
A.	<i>hrainjans</i>	<i>hrainja</i>	<i>hrainjōs</i>
D.	<i>hrainjaim</i>	<i>hrainjaim</i>	<i>hrainjaim</i>
G.	<i>hrainjaizē</i>	<i>hrainjaizē</i>	<i>hrainjaizō</i> .

Like *hraini*- are declined: *analaugni*-, "hidden"; *andanēmi*-,

subst. = "evildoer, malefactor": if the simple N. & A. s. neut. occurred, they would be *fullataui*, *ubiltai* (§ 26 (4, v)).

<sup>1</sup> The *j*, however, on the Schleicher-Sievers hypothesis, is the consonantized stem-*i*.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the cases in this and other paradigms are not extant; but where the given forms are not open to doubt it is not necessary to indicate them.

<sup>3</sup> When the radical syllable is short, this G. suffix should be *-jis* (§ 55, iv).

“acceptable”; *brūki-*, “useful”; *gafauri-*, “well-behaved”; *gamaini-*, “common”; *riuri-*, “corruptible”; *sēli-*, “good, kind”; *suti-* (or *sūti-*?), “sweet”; and others: of the majority of them, however, only a single case actually occurs.

57. The *Vowel Declensions*, concluded: Stems in *-u*. Here the *u* appears in the N. s. m., f., & n., and in the A. s. n.; when therefore any of these cases occur, there is no doubt as to the declension of the adj. The other cases show *ja*<sup>1</sup>.—Example:

*hardu-* (*hardja-*), “hard.”

	masc.	neut.	fem.
Sing. N.	hardus	hardu, hardjata	hardus
A.	hardjana	hardu, hardjata	hardja
D.	hardjamma	hardjamma	hardjai
G.	hardeis <sup>2</sup>	hardeis <sup>2</sup>	hardjaizōs
Plur. N.	hardjai	hardja	hardjōs
A.	hardjans	hardja	hardjōs
D.	hardjaim	hardjaim	hardjaim
G.	hardjaizē	hardjaizē	hardjaizō.

Similarly are declined: *aglu-*, “difficult”; *angwu-*, “narrow, strait”; *kaūru-*, “heavy, weighty”; *laushandu-*, “empty-handed”; *manwu-*, “ready”; *seiþu-*, “late” (in time); *tulgu-*, “fast, firm”; *twalibwintru-*, “twelve-years-old”; *þaursu-*, “withered”; and two or three more: but of the majority only a single case actually occurs.

58. The *n-declension*<sup>1</sup> comprises regularly-extended forms of the simpler adjective-stems. The masc. follows *guman-*; the fem., *tungōn-*<sup>2</sup>; and the neut., *haírtan-*; (§ 51).—Example:

*blindan-*, “(the) blind.”

	masc.	neut.	fem.
Sing. N.	blinda	blindō	blindō
A.	blindan	blindō	blindōn
D.	blindin	blindin	blindōn
G.	blindins	blindins	blindōns
Plur. N.	blindans	blindōna	blindōns
A.	blindans	blindōna	blindōns
D.	blindam	blindam	blindōm
G.	blindanē	blindanē	blindōnō.

<sup>1</sup> The *j* perhaps permeating from ancient Noms. pl. m. & f. (cf. *sunjus*, § 23 (1)), or as Schmidt thinks from the ancient N. s. f. (KZ. XXVI. 371-2).

<sup>2</sup> See Notes <sup>2</sup> and <sup>3</sup> to § 56.

<sup>1</sup> See § 40 (2, ii) above. On the older substantival character of these adjectives, see Osthoff, Forsch. II., and Brugman in KZ. XXIV. 37.

<sup>2</sup> But the fem. of the comparative degree, that of participles, and of some other words, as we shall presently see, follow *managein-*.

The *ja*-stems of the *a*-declension should make, of course, Sing. N. *midja*, *midjō*, *midjō*; A. *midjan*, *midjō*, *midjōn*; and so on. Of the *i*- and *u*-declensions the *ja*-stems are taken as the bases of the *n*-declension; as: Sing. N. *hraiŋja*, *hraiŋjō*, *hraiŋjō*, and *hardja*, *hardjō*, *hardjō*; A. *hraiŋjan*, *hraiŋjō*, *hraiŋjōn*, and *hardjan*, *hardjō*, *hardjōn*; &c., &c.

### 59. "Comparison" of Adjectives.

(1) The *Comparative Degree* is of the *n*-declension only: the base is a simpler comparative in *iz* (*is*) or *ōz* (*ōs*), which in this form is used (if at all) as an adverb only; e. g., *hauhis* (for *-iz*), "higher" (*adv.*), but *hauhizan*-, "higher" (*adj.*). The compound suffix *-ōzan* is used with *some a*-adjs.; other *a*-adjs. (including all in *ja*), and likewise all *i*- and *u*-adjs., take *-izan*. The fem. follows *managein*- (§ 51).—Examples:

*frōdōzan*-, "wiser"; *sutizan*-, "sweeter."

	masc.	neut.	fem.
Sing. N.	<i>frōdōza</i> , <i>sutiza</i>	<i>frōdōzō</i> , <i>sutizō</i>	<i>frōdōzei</i> , <i>sutizei</i>
A.	<i>frōdōzan</i> , <i>sutizan</i>	<i>frōdōzō</i> , <i>sutizō</i>	<i>frōdōzein</i> , <i>sutizein</i>
D.	<i>frōdōzin</i> , <i>sutizin</i>	<i>frōdōzin</i> , <i>sutizin</i>	<i>frōdōzein</i> , <i>sutizein</i>
G.	<i>frōdōzins</i> , <i>sutizins</i>	<i>frōdōzins</i> , <i>sutizins</i>	<i>frōdōzeins</i> , <i>sutizeins</i>
Plur. N.	<i>frōdōzans</i> , <i>sutizans</i>	<i>frōdōzōna</i> , <i>sutizōna</i>	<i>frōdōzeins</i> , <i>sutizeins</i>
A.	<i>frōdōzans</i> , <i>sutizans</i>	<i>frōdōzōna</i> , <i>sutizōna</i>	<i>frōdōzeins</i> , <i>sutizeins</i>
D.	<i>frōdōzam</i> , <i>sutizam</i>	<i>frōdōzam</i> , <i>sutizam</i>	<i>frōdōzeim</i> , <i>sutizeim</i>
G.	<i>frōdōzanē</i> , <i>sutizanē</i>	<i>frōdōzanē</i> , <i>sutizanē</i>	<i>frōdōzeinō</i> , <i>sutizeinō</i>

Before *-izan*, *ja* disappears; thus, of *alpja*, "old," the compar. is: N. s. *alpiza*, *alpizō*, *alpizei*; A. *alpizan*, &c. Of *u*-adjs. (as *hardu*-) the compar. is also of the form N. s. *hardiza*, *hardizō*, *hardizei*; &c.

Besides *frōdōzan*-, the following comparatives in *-ōzan* occur:—*garaihtōzan*-, "more righteous"; *handugōzan*-, "wiser"; *hlasōzan*-, "more cheerful"; *swikunpōzan*-, "better-known"; *swinpōzan*-, "stronger, mightier"; *paúrf-tōzan*-, "more needful"; *usdaudōzan*-, "more zealous."

(2) The *Superlative Degree*. Here the vowel and consonantal declensions are again used. The stem of the strong or *a*-declension is formed by the suffix *-ta* appended to the simpler (adverbial) comparative stem in *-is*, *-ōs*; as: (*adv.*) *hauhis*; superl. adj. *hauhista*-, "(the) highest"; (cf. Grk. *κακ-ισ-το-*, &c.). The m., n., and f. of this form follow *blinda*- (§ 55), except that the duplicate N. & A. s. neut. in *-ata* does not occur, and perhaps was not in use. Of the *n*-declension the fem. follows *tungōn*-.

Example (vowel-declension) :

*frōdōsta*-, “ wisest ”; *sutista*-, “ sweetest. ”

	masc.	neut.	fem.
S. N.	*frōdōsts, sutists	*frōdōst, sutist	*frōdōsta, sutista
A.	*frōdōstana, sutistana	*frōdōst, sutist	*frōdōsta, sutista ;
	&c.		&c.

(*n*-declension) :

	masc.	neut.	fem.
S. N.	*frōdōsta, sutista	*frōdōstō, sutistō	*frōdōstō, sutistō
A.	*frōdōstan, sutistan	*frōdōstō, sutistō	*frōdōstōn, sutistōn ;
	&c.		&c.

To all the comparatives in *-ōzan* there no doubt answered superlatives in *-ōsta* ; but none of these occur in Ulfilas. On the other hand, for the two superlatives in *-ōsta* that do occur,—viz.: *armōsta*-, “ most miserable,” and *lasiwōsta*-, “ most feeble,”—the corresponding comparatives are wanting.

### (3) Irregular Comparison.

(i) Six (positive) adjectives either borrow the compar. and superl. of adjs. that have lost the pos., or themselves appear in those degrees in a disguised form. These are :

Pos.	Compar.	Superl.
<i>gōda</i> -, “ good,”	<i>batizan</i> -, “ better,”	<i>batista</i> -, “ best ” ;
<i>ubila</i> -, “ bad, evil,”	<i>wairsizan</i> -, “ worse,”	[wanting <sup>1</sup> ] ;
<i>mikila</i> -, “ big, great,”	<i>maizan</i> -, “ greater,”	<i>maista</i> -, “ greatest ” ;
<i>leitila</i> -, “ little,”	<i>minnizan</i> -, “ less,”	<i>minnista</i> -, “ least ” ;
<i>sineiga</i> -, “ old,”	[wanting <sup>2</sup> ]	<i>sinista</i> - <sup>3</sup> , “ eldest ” ;
<i>junga</i> -, “ young,”	<i>jūhizan</i> -, “ younger,”	[wanting <sup>4</sup> ].

These are all declined like the similar degrees in (1) & (2) above.

(ii) Three old superlatives in *ma-n*, and three others in *tu-ma-n* or *du-ma-n* are based on prepositions or adverbs, and have no comparatives ; these are: *fruman*-, “ first ” ; *auhuman*-, “ higher ” ; *innuman*-, “ inner, inmost ” ; *aftuman*-, “ last ” ; *iftuman*-, “ next, following ” ; *hleiduman*-, “ left-hand.” As the form of the stem shows, these are all weak ; but the fem. follows *managein*- ; as : N. s. m. *fruma*, n. *frumō*, f. *frumei* ; A. m. *fruman*, n. *frumō*, f. *frumein* ; and so on.—

<sup>1</sup> Probably *wairsista*-.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *sinizan*- (*siniz*- = Lat. *senior*-).

<sup>3</sup> Used in wk. form with comparative meaning,—*hai sinistans* = “ the elders.”

<sup>4</sup> Probably *jūhista*-.

Some of them appear to have lost their full superl. force; and one or two are always used as comparatives. Upon these, new superlatives in *-ista* are formed (the *-an* of the stem being first rejected); as: from *fram-an-*, *fram-ista-* ("foremost"); from *aftum-an-*, *aftum-ista-* ("aftermost"); and from *auhum-an-*, *auhum-ista-* ("highest"). Two similar "double superlatives" occur for which forms in *-m-an-* are (if they existed) not preserved; viz.: *hindumista-* (our "hindmost"), implying *\*hinduman-* (= "hinder"); and *spēdumista-*, "last, latest," implying *\*spēduman-* ("later"); but alongside the latter the regular compar. (f.) *spēdizīn-*, and superl. *spēdista-*, also occur; of which, however, the pos. (stem *\*spēda-* = Ger. *ipāt*) is wanting.

#### 60. The Participles (or Verbal Adjectives).

(1) The *Active* (also called the *Present Participle*.—The old form of this ptp. has been shown (§ 52 (2)) to survive in a series of nouns of agent whose stem ended in *-and*. In the actual Gothic ptp. this stem-suffix (*excepting*, generally<sup>1</sup>, the *N.s.m.*) was extended by *-an*. The three genders, in declension, follow *guman-*, *hairtan-*, and *managein-* (§ 51). Example :

(*giband-*) *gibandan-*, "giving."

	masc.	neut.	fem.
Sing. N.	<i>gibands</i> , and ( <i>rarely</i> ) <i>gibanda</i>	<i>gibandō</i>	<i>gibandeī</i>
A.	<i>gibandan</i>	<i>gibandō</i>	<i>gibandein</i>
D.	<i>gibandin</i>	<i>gibandin</i>	<i>gibandein</i>
G.	<i>gibandins</i>	<i>gibandins</i>	<i>gibandeins</i>
Plur. N.	<i>gibandans</i>	<i>gibandōna</i>	<i>gibandeins</i>
A.	<i>gibandans</i>	<i>gibandōna</i>	<i>gibandeins</i>
D.	<i>gibandam</i>	<i>gibandam</i>	<i>gibandeim</i>
G.	<i>gibandanē</i>	<i>gibandanē</i>	<i>gibandeinō.</i>

So also are declined: *hausjandan-*, "hearing"; *nimandan-*, "taking"; *quimandan-*, "coming"; *quiþandan-*, "saying"; *saihwandan-*, "seeing"; &c., &c.

(2) The *Past* (also called the *Passive* or the *Perfect Participle*) is declined after both the vowel and the consonantal pattern. The suffixes of this ptp. are—for the ablaut and reduplicating verbs *-ana*, and for the derived verbs *-da* (*-ida*, *-aida*, *-ōda*). In the consonantal declension the fem. follows *tungōn*.

<sup>1</sup> And even when preceded by the article; but see § 95 (viii).

## Examples (vowel-declension) :

*gibana-*, "given"; *nasida-*, "saved."

	masc.	neut.	fem.
Sing. N.	<i>gibans, nasips</i>	<i>giban, nasip</i>	<i>gibana, nasida</i>
A.	<i>gibanana, nasidana</i>	<i>giban, nasip</i>	<i>gibana, nasida</i>
D.	<i>gibanamma, nasidamma</i>	(same as <i>masc.</i> )	<i>gibanai, nasidai</i>
G.	<i>gibanis, nasidis</i>	(ditto)	<i>gibanaizōs, nasidaizōs</i> ;
Plur. N.	<i>gibanai, nasidai</i>	<i>gibana, nasida</i>	<i>gibanōs, nasidōs</i>
A.	<i>gibanans, nasidans</i>	<i>gibana, nasida</i>	<i>gibanōs, nasidōs</i>
D.	<i>gibanaim, nasidaim</i>	(same as <i>m.</i> )	<i>gibanaim, nasidaim</i>
G.	<i>gibanaizē, nasidaizē</i>	(ditto)	<i>gibanaizō, nasidaizō.</i>

*(n-declension)* :

	masc.	neut.	fem.
Sing. N.	<i>gibana, nasida</i>	<i>gibanō, nasidō</i>	<i>gibanō, nasidō</i>
A.	<i>gibanān, nasidān</i>	<i>gibanō, nasidō</i>	<i>gibanōn, nasidōn</i>
D.	<i>gibanin, nasidin</i>	<i>gibanin, nasidin</i>	<i>gibanōn, nasidōn</i> ;

and so on, like *blindan-* in § 58.

Similarly are declined: *bundana-*, wk. *bundanān-*, "bound"; *numana-*, wk. *numanān-*, "taken"; *saiana-*, wk. *saianān-*, "sown"; *daupida-*, wk. *daupidan-*, "baptized"; *gawasida-*, wk. *gawasidan-*, "clothed"; *salbōda-*, wk. *salbōdan-*, "anointed"; *habaida-*, wk. *habaidan-*, "had"; &c., &c.

## 61. The Numerals.

(1) The *Cardinals*. The list extant in Ulf. is scanty; but as the fundamental names and a few combinations of them are preserved, a large part of the Go. numerical system may be reconstructed.

(i) The first three cardinals—*aina-*, "one," *twa-*, "two," and *pri-*, "three"—were fully declined; thus:

	masc.	neut.	fem.
N.	<i>ains</i>	<i>ain, ainata</i>	<i>aina</i>
A.	<i>ainana</i>	<i>ain, ainata</i>	<i>aina</i>
D.	<i>ainamma</i>	<i>ainamma</i>	<i>ainai</i>
G.	<i>ainis</i>	<i>ainis</i>	<i>ainaizōs.</i>
N.	<i>twai</i>	<i>twa</i>	<i>twōs</i>
A.	<i>twans</i>	<i>twa</i>	<i>twōs</i>
D.	<i>twaim</i>	<i>twaim</i>	<i>twaim</i>
G.	<i>twaddjē</i>	<i>twaddjē</i>	<i>*twaddjō,</i>
N.	<i>*preis</i>	<i>prija</i>	<i>*preis</i>
A.	<i>prins</i>	<i>prija</i>	<i>prins</i>
D.	<i>*prim</i>	<i>*prim</i>	<i>prim</i>
G.	<i>prijē</i>	<i>prijē</i>	<i>*prijo.</i>

(ii) Besides its strictly numerical sense of "one," *aina-* may have the related but purely adjectival meaning of "only, alone" (*μόνος, solus*), and may then be plural (*aitai, ainais, ainaim, &c.*) : see § 97 (ii). Used pronominally *aina-* may be = "one, a certain one" (*εἷς, εἷν*) : see § 101 (xvii).

(iii) The cardinals from "four" to "nineteen" show, in some instances, datives in *im*<sup>1</sup> and genitives in *ē*. Such of these as occur are given in the following list of extant numerals:—

*fidwōr*, "four"; (D. *fidwōrim* by *fidwōr*);  
*fiṃf*, "five"; *saihs*, "six"; *sibun*, "seven"; *ahtau*,  
 "eight";  
*niun*, "nine"; (G. *niunē*);  
*taihun*, "ten"; (D. *taihunim*);  
 \**ainlif*, "eleven"; (but D. *ainlibim* occurs);  
*twalif*, "twelve"; (D. *twalibim* by *twalif*, G. *twalibē*);  
*fidwōr-taihun*, "fourteen";  
*fiṃf-taihun*, "fifteen"; (D. *fiṃf-taihunim*).

(The wanting "teens" would probably be \**prija-taihun*, \**saihs-taihun*, \**sibun-taihun*, \**ahtau-taihun*, and \**niun-taihun*.)

(iv) The tens from "twenty" to "sixty" are formed by the aid of a separate masc. *u*-subst., *tigu*-<sup>2</sup> (our *-ty*), "a decad,"—declinable (but always, of course, in the plur.) like *sunu*- (§ 50),—and the remaining three by the aid of *tēhund*, evidently a *by*-form (although hitherto phonetically unexplained) of *taihun*; thus:

*twai tigjus*, "twenty"; (D. *twaim tigum*);  
*preis tigjus*, "thirty"; (A. *prins tiguns* and G. *prijē tigiwē*);  
*fidwōr tigjus*, "forty"; (A. *fidwōr tiguns*);  
*fiṃf tigjus*, "fifty"; (A. *fiṃf tiguns*);  
*saihs tigjus*, "sixty"; (D. *saihs tigum*);—but:  
*sibun-tēhund*, "seventy"; *ahtau-tēhund*, "eighty"; and  
*niun-tēhund*, "ninety" (but G., once only, *niun-tēhundis*).

(v) For "one hundred" the composite *taihun-tēhund*, by *taihun-taihund*, occurs; but for two or more hundreds the neuters *twa*, *prija*, &c., are followed by the neut. pl. *hunda*. The extant instances are:

*twa hunda*, "two hundred"; (D. *twaim hundam*);

<sup>1</sup> Osthoff, M.U. I. 131, and J. Baunack, KZ. XXV. 244 *note*, suggest, with great probability, that these apparent *i*-cases are "analogical" formations instigated by the genuine (dat.) *prim*, to which, first of all, *fidwōr-im*, and then the successive numerals up to (probably) \**niun-taihun-im*, were assimilated.

<sup>2</sup> Radically related to *taihun*; see § 32 (2, iv).

*þrija hunda*, "three hundred";  
*fiuf hunda*, "five hundred"; (D. *fiuf hundam*);  
*niun hunda*, "nine hundred."

(vi) The word for "thousand" is the fem. *þūsundjō*-, declined like *bandjō*- (§ 48 (3)). The instances are:

*þūsundi*, "thousand";  
*twōs þūsundjōs*, "two thousand";  
*·g·*(= \**preis*) *þūsundjōs*, "three thousand";  
*fidwōr þūsundjōs*, "four thousand"; (D. *fidwōr þūsundjōm*);  
*fiuf þūsundjōs*, "five thousand"; (D. *fiuf þūsundjōm*);

and the datives (*mīþ*) *taihun þūsundjōm*, "(with) ten thousand," and (*mīþ*) *twaim tigum þūsundjō*, "(with) twenty thousand"; where *taihun* is treated as an adj., while the subst. *tigum* takes the partitive gen. after it. Once, however, in the fragment of Ezra (ii. 14) there occurs *twa þūsundja*, "two thousand," formerly explained as a neut. plur., but more recently<sup>3</sup> as the remains of a dual fem.

(vii) The use of the letters of the alphabet as numerical symbols<sup>4</sup> has been explained in § 8. If it had not been for this usage, many other of the full names than those above given would have been preserved. Both when these symbols and when the full names are used the general rule was that the larger collective units (thousands, hundreds, tens) preceded, and the smaller units (hundreds, tens, ones) followed.

(2) The *Ordinals*. These are based on the cardinals, except the first two, namely: *fruman*-, "first," with fem. in *-ein*- (See § 59 (3, ii)), and *anþara*-, "other, second,"<sup>5</sup> which is declined after the vowel-paradigm (§ 55). *Þridjan*-, "third," and the rest, are of weak declension only, with fem. in *-ōn* (§ 58 (1)). The extant ordinals are:

Nominatives singular.

	masc.	neut.	fem.
<i>fruman</i> -, "first" . . . . .	<i>fruma</i> ,	<i>frumō</i> ,	<i>frumēi</i> ;
<i>anþara</i> -, "second" . . . .	<i>anþar</i> ,	<i>anþar</i> ,	<i>anþara</i> ;
<i>Þridjan</i> -, "third" . . . .	<i>Þridja</i> ,	<i>Þridjō</i> ,	<i>Þridjō</i> ;
<i>saiħstan</i> -, "sixth" . . . .	<i>saiħsta</i> ,	<i>saiħstō</i> ,	<i>saiħstō</i> ;
<i>ahtudan</i> -, "eighth" . . . .	<i>ahtuda</i> ,	<i>ahtudō</i> ,	<i>ahtudō</i> ;

<sup>3</sup> By Mahlow, approved by J. Schmidt, KZ. XXVI. 43.

<sup>4</sup> *E. g.*, Suniwē Babaawis ·x· ·k· ·g· = "of the sons of Babaaw (Babai) 623" (Ez. ii. 11).

<sup>5</sup> As in our idiom, "every other day"; i. e., "every second day."

<sup>6</sup> The *d* is not an accretion here; cf. Lat. *tertio*-, Grk. *τρίτο*-, &c.



## Nominatives singular.

	masc.	neut.	fem.
<i>niundan</i> -, "ninth" . . . .	<i>niunda</i> ,	<i>niundlō</i> ,	<i>niundlō</i> ;
<i>taihundan</i> -, "tenth" . .	<i>taihunda</i> ,	<i>taihundlō</i> ,	<i>taihundlō</i> ;
<i>fimfta-taihundan</i> -, "fifteenth" . . . . . }	<i>fimfta-taihunda</i> ,	<i>-dlō</i> ,	<i>-dlō</i> .

Of this last composite only the dative, *fimfta-taihundin*, occurs; from which we infer that only the second member of such compounds was declined. It also suggests (what is clear by analogy) that "fifth" was *fimftan*-.

(3) *Indefinite* and other numerals.

(i) Certain adjectives, which in the sing. denote quantity, indicate in the plur. an unspecified number; as: *alla*-, "all, the whole," plur. *allai*, *alla*, *allōs*, "all (in number)";—*fawa*-, "little," plur. *fawai*, *fawa*, *fawōs*, "few";—*managa*-, "much," plur. *managai*, *managa*, *managōs*, "many";—*suma*- in sing. = "some, a certain one," in plur., *sumai*, &c., "some, or certain ones."

(ii) "Both" is represented by (α) *ba*-, declined like *twa*-; but only the N. m. *bai*, A. *bans*, D. *baim*, and the N. & A. n. *ba*, occur; (β) *bajōp*-, based on *ba*-, of which there occur only the N. m. *bajōps*, D. *bajōpum* (cf. *mēnōps*, § 52 (3)).

(iii) The only simple "distributive" extant is *tweihna*-, "two each"; and of this only the A. f. *tweihnōs*, and D. *tweihnaim*, occur (see § 41 (5, vi)). But a distributive notion is conveyed by prepositional or pronominal phrases; as: (Insandida ins) *twans hwanzuh*, "(He sent them forth) *two by two*" (Lk. x. 1);—*Bi twans aip̄pau maist (bi)prins*, "*by twos* or *at-most (by) threes*" (Cor. I. xiv. 27);—*Ana hwarjanōh fimftiguns*, "*in each (rank) fifty*" (Lk. ix. 14).

(iv) "Multiplicative" adjs. are formed by adding *falpa*-, "-fold," to the cardinals, which drop their stem-vowel (when there is one); as: *ainfalpa*-, lit. "onefold," ∴ "simple"; *fidurfalpa*-, "fourfold"; *taihuntaihundfalpa*-, "hundredfold"; *managfalpa*-, "manifold."

(v) "Iterative" phrases are formed by the numerals + the D. s. & pl. of *sinpa*-, m., lit. "a going," ∴ "a time,"—as: *ainamma sinpa*, "once"; *anparamma sinpa*, "a second time"; *prim sinpam*, "thrice"; &c. These are properly adverbial (§ 82 (5)).

## (γ) PRONOUNS.

62. The *Personal Pronouns* (including the *Reflexive Pronoun*).

(1) The *Personal Pronouns* (as in some related dialects)

retain a dual of the 1st and 2nd persons (=“we-two,” “ye-two”); as:

## First Person.

Sing.	Dual.	Plur.
N. ik	wit	weis
A. mik	unk, unkis	uns, unsis
D. mis	unkis	uns, unsis
G. meina	unkara	unsara.

## Second Person.

Sing.	Dual.	Plur.
N. þu	*jut	jus
V. þu	*jut	jus
A. þuk	inquis	izwis
D. þus	inquis	izwis
G. þeina	inquara	izwara.

In the foregoing there is no distinction of gender. For the 3rd persons, “he, she, it,” the unemphatic demonstrative *i-* is used: it appears in all genders; thus:

## Third Person.

	masc.	neut.	fem.
Sing. N. is	ita	ita	si
A. ina	ita	ita	ija
D. imma	imma	imma	izai
G. is	is	is	izōs
Plur. N. eis	ija	ija	ijōs
A. ins	ija	ija	ijōs
D. im	im	im	im
G. izē	izē	izē	izō.

(2) The *Reflexive Pronoun* stands as the direct or indirect object to some verb whose subject or nominative is a noun or pronoun of the 3rd person; and this subject and the reflexive pronoun must denote the same person or thing. It follows from the definition that a reflexive proper cannot assume the nominative relationship and form. Accordingly, the Gothic reflexive shows only the three remaining cases,—A. *sik*, D. *sis*, G. *seina*, and these serve for both numbers and all genders of the 3rd person. (More on the Reflexive will follow in the Syntax, § 102.)

63. The stems of the *Personal Possessives* show the same form as the genitives of the personal pronouns. Grammatically, as well as by derivation (§ 40 (2, x)), they are adjectives, and are declined after the *a*-paradigm only (like *blinda-*,

§ 55 (i)); but the duplicate neuter form in *-ata*, which occurs with *meina-*, *þeina-*, *seina-* appears to be wanting for the other possessives. The whole series is :

## Nominatives singular.

		masc.	neut.	fem.
1 p. s.,	<i>meina-</i> , "mine" . . . . .	<i>meins</i> ,	<i>meia</i> , <i>meiatta</i> ,	<i>meina</i> ;
2 „	<i>þeina-</i> , "thine" . . . . .	<i>þeins</i> ,	<i>þein</i> , <i>þeinata</i> ,	<i>þeina</i> ;
1 p. du.,	<i>unkara-</i> , "our-two's" . .	* <i>unkar</i> ,	* <i>unkar</i> ,	* <i>unkara</i> ;
2 „	<i>inquara-</i> , "your-two's" .	* <i>inquar</i> ,	* <i>inquar</i> ,	<i>inquara</i> ;
1 p. pl.,	<i>unsara-</i> , "our" . . . . .	<i>unsar</i> ,	<i>unsar</i> ,	<i>unsara</i> ;
2 „	<i>izwara-</i> , "your" . . . .	<i>izwar</i> ,	<i>izwar</i> ,	<i>izwara</i> .

The stem of the *Reflexive Possessive* is *seina-*, f. *seinō-*, "his, her, its, their," or "his own, her own," &c. Of this the N.-forms are necessarily wanting (§ 102) ; and the A., D., G., s. & pl. (A. s. m. *seinana*, n. *sein*, *seinata*, f. *seina*, &c.) are used under precisely the same syntactic limitations as the pronoun *sik*, *sis*, itself. But when the persons or things to be implied in a genitive are not denoted by the subject or nominative of the clause in which that gen. is to occur, the genitives of *i-* (*is*, *izōs*, *izē*, *izō*) must be employed.

64. The *Demonstrative Pronouns* (including the *Article*).

(1) The simple Demonstrative is *þa-*, "he, she, it, that" ; which is also used as the *definite article*, "the," when the Gothic idiom requires one. The initial dental is sibilated in the N. s. m. & f.; but the *s* appears to date from prim. times (Skt. *sá*, *sā* = Grk. *ó*, *ῆ* for \**so*, \**sa*).

	masc.	neut.	fem.
Sing. N.	<i>sa</i>	<i>þata</i>	<i>sō</i>
A.	<i>þana</i>	<i>þata</i>	<i>þō</i>
D.	<i>þamma</i>	<i>þamma</i>	<i>þizai</i>
G.	<i>þis</i>	<i>þis</i>	<i>þizōs</i>
Plur. N.	<i>þai</i>	<i>þō</i>	<i>þōs</i>
A.	<i>þans</i>	<i>þō</i>	<i>ōs</i>
D.	<i>þaim</i>	<i>þaim</i>	<i>þaim</i>
G.	<i>þizē</i>	<i>þizē</i>	<i>þizō.</i>

Of the neut. sing. an old Instrumental case, *þē*, is preserved in one phrase<sup>1</sup>, and as a factor in several conjunctions (*biþē*, *þē-ei*, and others).

(2) A more forcible Demonstrative = "this or that man,

<sup>1</sup> *Ni þē haldis*, "none the more": our article here and in similar phrases ("all the better," &c.) is also an instrumental.

woman," &c., or an emphatic *he, she, &c.*, is formed by combining with *þa-* the particle *-uh* (=Lat. *-que*). But note: ( $\alpha$ ) where the cases of the simple pronoun end in *a* this vowel (except in the N.s.m.) is elided before the *u*; ( $\beta$ ) after a long vowel or a diphthong, on the contrary, the *u* of *uh* vanishes; ( $\gamma$ ) a final *s* of the simple pron. becomes *z* (§ 85 (5, iii)). Thus:

	masc.	neut.	fem.
Sing. N.	sah	patuh	sōh
A.	panuh	patuh	pōh
D.	þammuh	þammuh	pizaih
G.	pizuh	pizuh	pizōzuh
Plur. N.	paih	pōh	pōzuh
A.	panzuh	pōh	pōzuh
D.	þaimuh	þaimuh	þaimuh
G.	pizēh	pizēh	pizōh.

Of all the plurals only the N. m. occurs, and of the *fem.* sing. only the N.; but there can be no doubt as to the form of the missing cases.

(3) Demonstratives of the nearer and remoter person or thing.

(i) The old pronominal stem *hi-*, "this," survives only in the D. & A. of the m. & n. sing.; these occur in certain adverbial phrases denoting point of time; viz.: D. m., *himma daga*, "(on) this day," i. e., "to-day";—n., *fram himma*, or *fram himma nu*, "from this time," or "henceforth";—also: A. m., *und hina dag*, "to this day";—n., *und hita*, or *und hita nu*, "till now," or "hitherto."

(ii) *jaína-*, lit. "yon or yonder (man, woman, &c.)," is really an adj., and is declined after the *a*-paradigm (§ 55); viz.:

N. s. m.	jaíns	n. jaínata	f. jaína
A. s. ,,	jaínana	,, jaínata	,, jaína :
	&c.		&c.

The simple N. & A. neut. (\**jaín*) does not occur.

(4) Here, for want of a better place, may be mentioned the *quasi*-pronominal intensives *saman-*, "same," and *silban-*, "self," which are declined after the *n*-paradigm (§ 58). *Saman-* is nearly always accompanied by the article (as is also "same" in English),—*silban*, rarely or (more properly) never. Thus we have:

N. s. m.	sa sama	n. þata samō	f. sō samō
A. s. ,,	þana saman	,, þata samō	,, þō samōn ;

&c., &c.; and :

N. s. m. silba	n. silbō	f. silbō
A. s. „ silban	„ silbō	„ silbōn :

&c., &c.—The former is rather of an adjectival, the latter of a substantival, nature and use (see Syntax, § 104).

### 65. The *Relative Pronouns*.

These are all formed by affixing to demonstrative or personal pronouns the particle *ei*.

(1) The usual Relative of the 3rd persons is based upon *pa-*, as declined in § 64 (1); but before the appended *ei*, which keeps its form throughout, a short *a* (except in the N. s. m.) vanishes, a diphthong or long vowel persists, and a final *s* becomes *z* (cf. § 64 (2)).

*pa- + ei* = “who, which, that.”

	masc.	neut.	fem.
Sing. N.	saei	patei	sōei
A.	panei	patei	pōei
D.	ṡammei	ṡammei	ṡizaiei
G.	ṡizei	ṡizei	ṡizōzei
Plur. N.	ṡaiei	pōei	pōzei
A.	ṡanzei	pōei	pōzei
D.	ṡaimiei	ṡaimiei	ṡaimiei
G.	ṡizēei	ṡizēei	ṡizōei.

The instrumental *pēei* occurs only as a conjunction, and always after *ni* (*ni pēei* . . ., “not that . . .”). The neuters *patei* and *ṡammei* are also conjunctions (Syntax, § 103 (xv, xvi)).

(2) Two Nominative Relatives of the 3rd person are also formed upon the N. s. m. & f. of *i-* (§ 62 (1)), viz.: m. *izei* and f. *sei* (= *si + ei*): *sei* indeed occurs more frequently than *sōei*. In *izei*, *ē* often appears for *ei* (§ 26 (3, iii)). Occasionally there is a remarkable employment of *izei* (*izē*) for the N. plural masc. (= *\*eizei*); as: *ṡai sind ṡai izē* . . ., “these are they who . . .” (Lk. viii. 15).

(3) Relatives for the 1st and 2nd persons are similarly formed by affixing *ei* to the pronouns of those persons. Probably a full scheme of these Relatives was in use (*ikei*, *\*mikei*, *\*mizei*, &c.); but only the following detached instances are preserved in Ulfilas:—

1 p. s., *ikei*, “(I) who”;

2 p. s., *ṡuei*, “(thou) who”; *ṡukei*, “(thee) whom”; *ṡuzei*, “(to thee) to whom”;

2 p. pl., *ṡuzei*, “(ye) who”; D. *izwizei*, “(you) to whom”.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare the German, *ich der ich, wir die wir*; &c.

66. The *Interrogative Pronouns*.

(1) The simple Interrogative stem is *hwa-* (*hwō-*), "who?" Of this, only the singular forms (minus the G. fem.) occur. Thus:

	masc.	neut.	fem.
N.	<i>hwas</i>	<i>hwa</i>	<i>hwō</i>
A.	<i>hwana</i>	<i>hwa</i>	<i>hwō</i>
D.	<i>hwamma</i>	<i>hwamma</i>	<i>hwizai</i>
G.	<i>hwis</i>	<i>hwis</i>	<i>hwizōs</i> .

Of the neuter an old Instrumental also survived, viz., *hwē* = "wherewith? by what means?" (= A-S. *hwȳ*, our "why"). A relic of the plur. is embodied in the A. m. *hwanz-uh* (§ 67 (1)).

(2) The *Partitive Interrogatives*, as they may be called, are *hwaþara-*, "which (of two)," O.E. "whether," and *hwarja-*, "which (of any number)." The former followed *anþara-* in declension (§ 61 (2)); but there occur only the N. s. m. & n. *hwaþar*, and the D. *hwaþamma*<sup>1</sup>. *Hwarja-* is declined like *midja-* (§ 55 (iv)), except that in the neut. s. only the form in *-ata* occurs: N. s. m. *hwarjis*, n. *hwarjata*, f. *hwarja*; A. s. m. *hwarjana*, D. *hwarjamma*, G. *hwarjis*, N. pl. m., *hwarjai*, A. *hwarjans*, A. f. *hwarjōs*. These are all the cases that are found in Ulf.

(3) Here are generally placed (although they are really adjectives) the *Qualitative* and *Quantitative Interrogatives*, as they may be called; viz.: *hwileika-* = Lat. *quali-*, "of what sort?" and *hwēlauda-* = Lat. *quanto-*, "how great?" These follow the *a*-declension of adjectives, except that the neut. in *-ata* is wanting;—N. s. m. *hwileiks* (and once *hwēleiks*), n. *hwileik* (not *—ata*), f. *hwileika*, &c.;—N. s. m. *\*hwēlauþs*, n. *\*hwēlauþ*; f. *hwēlauda*;—and to them answer the correlatives *swaleika-* = Lat. *tali-*, "such," and *swalauda-* = Lat. *tanto-*, "so great"; which follow the same declension,—*swaleiks*, *swaleik* (but also *swaleikata*), *swaleika*; &c.: of the other only the A. s. n. *swalaud* (for *\*swalauþ*) and A. s. f. *swalauda* occur.

67. The *Distributive Pronouns*.

These convey the notion of "each" or "every one" (whether of two or of any number); and in Gothic they are all formed from interrogatives by the addition of *uh*.

<sup>1</sup> Probably a mistake for *hwaþammēh* (§ 67 (4)), in which, however, it is embodied.

(1) Thus, *hwa- + uh* gives :

masc.	neut.	fem.
N. hwazuh	hwah	hwōh
A. hwanōh <sup>1</sup>	hwah	hwōh
D. hwammēh <sup>2</sup>	hwammēh	hwizaih
G. hwizuh	hwizuh	hwizōzuh.

*Hwazuh* is exactly = Lat. *quisque*, both in formation and meaning; it generally renders  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ,  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\acute{o}$  + ptep., and the like. Of the plur. only the A. m. *hwanzuh* occurs (see § 61 (3, iii)).

(2)  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron$ - is nearly always rendered by *hwarja- + uh*; which is declined thus:—

masc.	neut.	fem.
N. hwarjizuh	hwarjatōh <sup>1</sup>	hwarjōh
A. hwarjanōh <sup>1</sup>	hwarjatōh	hwarjōh
D. hwarjammēh <sup>2</sup>	hwarjammēh	hwarjaih
G. hwarjizuh	hwarjizuh	hwarjizōzuh.

Of the n. only the N. and of the f. only the A. occur; but the forms of the other cases are pretty certain.

(3) A still more precise distributive, = “each,” “every one,” is made by prefixing *ain-* (indecl.) to *hwarjizuh*, &c. (cf. Lat. *unus-quisque*); thus: N. s. m., *ainhwarjizuh*, A. *ainhwarjanōh*, D. *ainhwarjammēh*, G. *ainhwarjizuh*; and N. s. n., *ainhwarjatōh*. These are all the cases that occur.

(4) A similar pair, *hwaḡaruh* and *ainhwaḡaruh* = “each of two,” and “each one of two,” are formed upon *hwaḡar*; but only the two datives m., *hwaḡarammēh* and *ainhwaḡarammēh*, occur (once each); and the former of these (it should be added) is a correction of the *hwaḡaramma* of the MS.

## 68. Indefinite Pronouns.

(1) The combination *hwazuh saei*, lit. “every one that,” is generally = “whosoever”; but only the N. s. m. occurs. To this combination may be prefixed the pronoun *sa*,—*sa-hwazuh saei*; for which the equivalent *sa-hwazuh izei* is occasionally found: these also occur only in the N. s. m. The corresponding neuter is *pata-hwah ḡei* (not *patei*), “whatsoever”; it occurs only in the A. s.

<sup>1</sup>  $\acute{o}$  is clearly the older value, of which the *a* in *hwana* is the short (§ 85 (3, iii)).

<sup>2</sup> For the  $\acute{e}$  see § 26 (1, iii).

(2) To *hwazuh* and *hwah* may be prefixed an indeclinable *pis*, and the compound may be followed by *saei* (neut. *patei*), *pei*, or *ei*. The following occur (the N. & A. neut. most frequently):—

	masc.	neut.
N.	<i>pishwazuh ei</i> , “whosoever,”	<i>pishwah pei &amp; patei</i> , “whatsoever,”
A.	<i>pishwanōh saei</i> , “whomsoever,”	<i>pishwah pei &amp; patei</i> , “whatsoever,”
D.	<i>pishwammēh saei &amp; pei</i> , “to whom—	
G.	————— [soever,”	<i>pishwizuh pei</i> , “(of) whatsoever.”

(3) *hwa-* is also used in many combinations to give an indefinite force (see Syntax, § 104 (iv)).

(4) *aina-*, “one,” *suma-*, “some,” and *alla-*, “all, the whole,” are properly adjectives, but are also (especially *suma-*) used with an indefinite pronominal force = “some one,” “a certain man,” &c.—*Suma-* is often duplicated into a correlative pair,—*sums . . . sums*, “the one . . . the other” (Grk. *ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δέ*): in this usage, *uh*, *’h*, is generally attached to the second member, and sometimes to both members, of the pair,—*sums . . . sumzuh*; in the plur., *sumai(h)* . . . *sumaih*, “some . . . and others.”

(5) Three indef. pronouns are made by adding to *aina-*, *mann-*, and *hwa-*, the suffix *-hun*, probably = *cun* (*cum*) in Lat. *-cunque*; but they are only used, with a preceding *ni*, as negatives. *Ainshun*, *mannahun*, and *hwashun*, should mean, in the affirmative, “any one,” “any man,” and “anybody,” or “whosoever”; hence, with *ni*, they mean “no one, nobody, (neut.) nothing.” Of the three, *ainshun* occurs by far the most frequently; its declension is:

	masc.	neut.	fem.
N.	( <i>ni</i> ) <i>ainshun</i>	<i>ainhun</i>	<i>ainōhun</i>
A.	( <i>ni</i> ) <i>ainnōhun</i> (ǵ <i>ainō-</i> ) <sup>1</sup>	<i>ainhun</i>	<i>ainōhun</i> (ǵ <i>ainnō-</i> )
D.	( <i>ni</i> ) <i>ainummēhun</i>	<i>ainummēhun</i>	<i>ainaihun</i>
G.	( <i>ni</i> ) <i>ainishun</i>	<i>ainishun</i>	<i>ainaizōshun</i> .

*Mannahun* is, of course, masc. only: all the sing. occurs; viz.: N. (*ni*) *mannahun*, A. (*ni*) *mannanhun*, D. (*ni*) *mannhun*, G. (*ni*) *manshun*. Of the third compound only the N. s. m., (*ni*) *hwashun*, occurs.

<sup>1</sup> See Note <sup>1</sup> to § 67, and § 85 (3, iii).



## (δ) VERBS.

69. (1) The "accidents" of the Verb in Gothic, as in cognate languages, are *Voice*, *Mood*, *Tense*, *Number*, and *Person*; and in the Verb-system are incorporated one *Infinitive* and two *Participles*.

(i) The *Voices* are two,—*Active* and *Passive*. The latter (what is left of it) is an inflexional voice, as in Greek, and not a composite one, as in English: in form it is descended from the primitive "middle" voice; and hence it is sometimes called the "Medio-passive" voice.

(ii) The *Moods* of the active voice are three,—the *Indicative*, the *Optative* (which also serves as a *Subjunctive*), and the *Imperative*. In the remains of the (medio-)passive voice the imperative is wanting.

(iii) The *Tenses* of the active are two,—the *Present* and the *Preterite* (originally, in strong vbs., the Perfect, §§ 23–25); of the passive there is only a present tense.

(iv) The *Numbers* of the active voice are three,—*Singular*, *Dual*, and *Plural*: in the passive there is no dual.

(v) The *Persons* of the singular and plural of both voices are three,—1st, 2nd, and 3rd; but of the dual there are only a 1st and a 2nd person. In the passive one personal form has to do duty for two or three persons.

(vi) The *Infinitive* is an uninflectible form (probably the old accus.) of a verbal substantive in *-ana* (§ 40 (2, vi)); but the *Participles* maintain complete schemes of adjectival inflexion (§ 60).

(2) The Gothic is richer than the other old Teut. dialects (α) in number, by its dual; (β) in voice, firstly by the remains of the inflexional (medio-)passive; and secondly (excepting O.N.) by its more fully developed "correlative" conjugation (§ 43 (2, iv)). But, like those others, it is poverty-stricken in the matter of tense, especially in comparison with the classical tongues. It is incapable therefore of expressing all those delicate variations of time-limited action which the Greek, for example, indicates by its copious inflexions. Thus the Gothic present often has to do duty for the future; while various subdivisions of past time—imperfect, pluperfect, aoristic—have to be expressed by the preterite. Nevertheless, some advance had been already made towards supplying the deficiencies both of voice and tense by means of composite forms. The composite passive-forms will be referred to in § 106 (iii), and the composite tenses in § 107. Among these the student will recognize some that are the prototypes of corresponding composites in modern Teutonic dialects.

70. (1) In point of Conjugation, nearly all the Gothic verbs may be arranged in a few groups, the members of each of which show similar series of root-forms, or suffixes, or both. The term "conjugation" is, however, often used with a sort of concrete or collective force; and all the verbs of each group are said to be of such or such a conjugation.

(2) The series of personal endings is substantially the same for all Gothic verbs; and so are the optative mood-suffixes. The varieties of conjugation are therefore determined by the varieties of the stem to which these suffixes and endings are attached. In the case of the pret. of Strong Verbs the root is the stem. In the present tense indic., however, a stem-vowel, *a* or *i*, comes between root and ending,—*baír-i-s*, *baír-a-nd*, &c.: in the pret. indic. 1 & 3 p. s. only the deep-tone variety of the bare root remains (*bar*); the plur. and opt. are based on the weak variety, and the opt. mood-suffixes come between root and ending. The present-tense stem-suffixes of Weak Verbs have been displayed in § 43 (2), and have been shown to include the element *ja* (*ji*). But this *ja* (*ji*) forms the present-tense stem of a few strong verbs also; so that the character of the present tense is not always a sure criterion of a strong or a weak verb. Such a criterion is, however, furnished by the preterite. Unlike the pret. of strong verbs, that of weak verbs is formed by the addition of a remarkable *d*-suffix which is generally considered to have once been an independent tense of an old strong verb. (See § 81 below.)

(3) In a small group of verbs an old strong pret. has been taken as a new present, and a new pret. has been formed by adding thereto a weak-pret. suffix. These verbs are called "preterite-presents"; and with them are grouped a few other so-called "irregular" verbs. But both these and the weak verbs proper may stand aside for a time while we resume, from § 25, the study of the strong verbs.

(4) All the Strong Verbs form, in reality, one great conjugation. It is convenient, however, to group them according to the several vowel-series exhibited by the varieties of the root (§§ 23–25): this we shall accordingly do, and shall give for each group a model verb conjugated in full. Many of the forms here given do not occur in Ulfilas (See § 78 (1) below); but only such of the non-extant forms as are doubtful will be indicated by the interrogative (?).

## 71. Ablaut verbs of vowel-series (i), § 24 (6).

## (1) Paradigm :

*giban*, to give.

Present tense.

Active.

Indicative :

Optative (Subjunctive) :

Sing. 1.	<i>giba</i> , <i>I give</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>gibau</i> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>I may give</i>
2.	<i>gibis</i> , <i>thou givest</i>	<i>gibais</i> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>thou mayst give</i>
3.	<i>gibip</i> , <i>he, she, it gives</i>	<i>gibai</i> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>he may give</i>
Dual 1.	<i>gibōs</i> , <i>we-two give</i>	<i>gibaiwa</i> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>we-two may give</i>
2.	<i>gibats</i> , <i>ye-two give</i>	<i>gibaits</i> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>ye-two may give</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>gibam</i> , <i>we give</i>	<i>gibaima</i> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>we may give</i>
2.	<i>gibip</i> , <i>ye give</i>	<i>gibaiṣ</i> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>ye may give</i>
3.	<i>giband</i> , <i>they give</i> ;	<i>gibaina</i> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>they may give</i> ;

Imperative :

- 2 p. s., *gif*, *give (thou)* ; 3 p., *gibadau*, *let-him-give* ;  
 2 p. dual, *gibats*, *do ye-two give* ;  
 1 p. pl., *gibam*, *let us give* ; 2 p., *gibip*, *give ye* ; 3 p., *gibandau*,  
*let-them-give*.

Passive.

Indicative :

Optative :

Sing. 1.	<i>gibada</i> , <i>I am given</i>	<i>gibaidau</i> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>I may be given</i>
2.	<i>gibaza</i> , <i>thou art given</i>	<i>gibaizau</i> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>thou mayst be given</i>
3.	<i>gibada</i> , <i>he, it is given</i>	<i>gibaidau</i> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>he, it may be given</i>
Plur. 1.	} <i>gibanda</i> , <i>we, ye, they</i> <i>are given</i> ;	<i>gibaindau</i> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>we, ye, they may</i> <i>be given</i> .
2.		
3.		

## Preterite (active only).

Indicative :

Optative :

Sing. 1.	<i>gaf</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>I gave</i>	<i>gēbjau</i> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>I might give</i>
2.	<i>gaft</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>thou gavest</i>	<i>gēbeis</i> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>thou mightest give</i>
3.	<i>gaf</i> , <i>he, she, it gave</i>	<i>gēbi</i> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>he might give</i>
Dual 1.	<i>gēbu</i> , <i>we-two gave</i>	<i>gēbeiwa</i> <sup>3</sup> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>we-two might give</i>
2.	<i>gēbuts</i> , <i>ye-two gave</i>	<i>gēbeits</i> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>ye-two might give</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>gēbum</i> , <i>we gave</i>	<i>gēbeima</i> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>we might give</i>
2.	<i>gēbuṣ</i> , <i>ye gave</i>	<i>gēbeiṣ</i> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>ye might give</i>
3.	<i>gēbun</i> , <i>they gave</i> ;	<i>gēbeina</i> , ( <i>that</i> ) <i>they might give</i> .

<sup>1</sup> The English equivalents will not be supplied in subsequent paradigms.

<sup>2</sup> On the final *f* for *b*, *ft*, *st*, for *bt*, *tt*, &c., see §§ 31 (5) & 33 (1, iv).

<sup>3</sup> See § 78 (1) below.

## Infinitive :

giban, *to give*.

## Participles :

Active (present):—gibandan- (but N. s. m. gibands, and rarely gibanda<sup>4</sup>), *giving*;Passive (past):—gibana- (N. s. m. str. gibans, weak gibana<sup>4</sup>), *given*.

(2) This vowel-series is shown by the following verbs:—

Present.	Preterite.			Ptcp. stem.
1 p. s.	1 & 3 p. s.	2 p. s. <sup>5</sup>	1 p. pl.	
giba, <i>I give</i>	gaf	gaft	gēbum	gibana-;
bi-gita, <i>I find</i>	bi-gat	bi-gast	bi-gētum	bi-gitana-;
hlifa, <i>I steal</i>	hlaƿ	hlaft	hlēfum	hlifana-;
ita, <i>I eat</i>	(at?) ēt	ēst <sup>6</sup>	ētum	itana-;
liga, <i>I lie (jaceo)</i>	lag	lagt <sup>7</sup> ?	lēgum	ligana-;
lisa, <i>I gather</i>	las	last	lēsum	lisana-;
mita, <i>I measure</i>	mat	mast	mētum	mitana-;
ga-nisa, <i>I am saved</i>	ga-nas	ga-nast	ga-nēsum	[ga-nisana- <sup>8</sup> ];
quiƿa, <i>I say</i>	quap	quast	quēpum	quipana-;
rika, <i>I heap up</i> <sup>9</sup>	rak	rakt (or raht)?	rēkum	rikana-;
saihwā <sup>10</sup> , <i>I see</i>	sahw	sahwt	sēhwum	saihwana-;
sita, <i>I sit</i>	sat	sast	sētum	sitana-;
sniwa, <i>I hasten</i>	snau	snawt?	snēwum	sniwana-;
(ga-)wida, <i>I bind</i>	-wap	-wast	-wēdum	-widana-;
(ga-)wiga, <i>I shake</i> (down)	-wag	-wagt?	-wēgum	-wigana-;
wisa, <i>I dwell, remain</i>	was	wast	wēsum	wisana-;
wrika, <i>I persecute</i>	wrak	wrakt (or -ht)?	wrēkum	wrikana-.

To this series are thought to belong \**diwa*, “I die,” (cf. *sniwa*), of which only the ptcp. *diwana-* occurs; *fitan*, “to travail in birth” (of which only 1 p. s. present, *fitā*, and fem. act. ptcp. *fitandei* occur,—once each, Gal. iv. 19, 27); and *nīƿan*, “to support, help” (which occurs only once, in 2 p. s. opt.=imperative, *nīƿais*, Phil. iv. 3).

One verb, *bidjan*, “to beg, pray, beseech,” shows a *ja*-stem in all the present tenses,—*bidja*, “I pray,” *bidjands*, “praying,” &c.; but the pret. is *baƿ* (*bad*), *bast*, *bēdum*, &c., and

<sup>4</sup> See § 60.<sup>5</sup> The 2 p. s. pret. is added because of the consonantal combinations with *t*.<sup>6</sup> See § 24 (2).<sup>7</sup> See § 32 (3, iii) *ad fin*.<sup>8</sup> The quasi-passive meaning of the verb scarcely admits of this formation.<sup>9</sup> This verb is only found (once) in the 2 p. s. present, *rikis*.<sup>10</sup> *ai=i* by refraction (§ 26 (8)).

the ptep., *bidana-*. The present 1 p. s. (*us*) *bida* (without *j*) also occurs once (Rom. ix. 3),—whether correctly or by error we cannot tell. *Bidja*, in the present tenses, follows *uasja* (§ 79 (1)).

*Fraihnan*, “to ask,” shows a *na*-stem in the present tenses, in which it follows *fullnan* (§ 79 (4)) : its pret. is *frāh*, *frāht*, *frēhum*, &c. ; and its ptep. *frāihana-*.

## 72. Ablaut verbs of vowel-series (ii), § 24 (6).

### (1) Paradigm :

Present tense.					
Active :			Passive :		
	Indic.	Opt.	Imperat.	Indic.	Opt.
Sing. 1.	nima	nimau		nimada	nimaidau
2.	nimis	nimais	nim	nimaza	nimaizau
3.	nimip	nimai	nimadau	nimada	nimaidau
Dual 1.	nimōs	nimaiwa			
2.	nimats	nimait	nimats		
Plur. 1.	nimam	nimaime	nimam	nimanda	nimaindau
2.	nimip	nimaip	nimip	nimanda	nimaindau
3.	nimand	nimaime	nimandau ;	nimanda	nimaindau.

### Preterite.

	Indic.	Opt.	
Sing. 1.	nam	nēmjau	
2.	namt	nēmeis	
3.	nam	nēmi	Infin. :—niman ;
Dual 1.	nēmu	nēmeiwa	Ptep. act. :—nimandan- ;
2.	nēmuts	nēmeits	Ptep. pass. :—numana-.
Plur. 1.	nēmun	nēmeime	
2.	nēmup	nēmeip	
3.	nēmun	nēmeime.	

### (2) Verbs of this series :

Present.	Preterite.			Ptep. stem.
1 p. s.	1 & 3 p. s.	2 p. s.	1 p. pl.	
baíra, <i>I bear</i>	bar	bart	bērum	baúrana- ;
brika, <i>I break</i>	brak	brakt (or -ht) ?	brēkum	brukana- ;
nima, <i>I take</i>	nam	namt	nēmun	numana- ;
quima, <i>I come</i>	quam	quamt	quēmun	quumana- ;
stila, <i>I steal</i>	stal	stalt	stēlum	stulana- ;
ga-táira, <i>I destroy</i>	-tar	-tart	-tērum	-taúrana-.

Here probably belongs the verb *ga-timan*, “to suit, agree with” ; of which only the 3 p. s. present occurs. The verb “to tread,” which in the W.Teut. dialects is regular, shows,

in Gothic, an exceptional *u* in the infin. and the present tenses. The parts that occur are: *trudan* (infin.), *trudanda* (3 p. pl. pass.), and (*ga-*)*trudan* (neut. ptep. pass.): the pret. was probably *\*trap*, *\*trēdum* (cf. O.N. *trað*, *tráðum*, against the infin. *troða*).

### 73. Ablaut verbs of vowel-series (iii), § 24 (6).

#### (1) Paradigm :

<i>bindan</i> , to bind.					
Present tense.					
Active :			Passive :		
	Indic.	Opt.	Imperat.	Indic.	Opt.
Sing. 1.	binda	bindau		bindada	bindaidau
2.	bindis	bindais	bind	bindaza	bindaizau
3.	bindip	bindai	bindadau	bindada	bindaidau
Dual 1.	bindōs	bindaiwa			
2.	bindats	bindaits	bindats		
Plur. 1.	bindam	bindaima	bindam	bindanda	bindaindau
2.	bindip	bindaip	bindip	bindanda	bindaindau
3.	bindand	bindaina	bindandau ;	bindanda	bindaindau.

#### Preterite.

	Indic.	Opt.	
Sing. 1.	band	bundjau	
2.	banst	bundeis	
3.	band	bundi	Infin. :—bindan ;
Dual 1.	bundu	bundeiwa	Ptep. act. :—bindandan- ;
2.	bunduts	bundeits	Ptep. pass. :—bundana-.
Plur. 1.	bundum	bundeima	
2.	bundup	bundeip	
3.	bundun	bundeina.	

#### (2) The verbs of this series are numerous ; viz. :

Present.	Preterite.		Ptep. stem.	
1 p. s.	1 & 3 p. s.	2 p. s.	1 p. pl.	
<i>binda</i> , <i>I bind</i>	band	banst	bundum	bundana- ;
<i>bairga</i> , <i>I protect</i>	barg	bargt ?	baúrgum	baúrgana- ;
<i>bliggwa</i> <sup>1</sup> , <i>I scourge</i>	blaggw	blaggwt	bluggwum	bluggwana- ;
<i>brinna</i> , <i>I burn</i> <sup>2</sup>	brann	brant <sup>4</sup>	brunnum	brunnana- ;
<i>drinka</i> , <i>I drink</i>	drank	drankt ?	drunkum	drunkana- ;
<i>filha</i> , <i>I hide, bury</i>	falh	falht	fulhum	fulhana- ;
<i>finpa</i> , <i>I find</i> <sup>3</sup>	fanp	fanst	funpum	funpana- ;
(us-) <i>gilda</i> , <i>I (re)pay</i>	-gald	-galst	-guldum	-guldana- ;
<i>du-ginna</i> , <i>I begin</i>	du-gann	-gant <sup>4</sup>	-gunnum	-gunnana- ;
(uf-) <i>gairda</i> , <i>I gird (up)</i>	-gard	-garst	-gaúrdum	-gaúrdana- ;

<sup>1</sup> See § 29 (1, viii).

<sup>3</sup> In the sense of "learn, discover."

<sup>2</sup> Intransitive.

<sup>4</sup> See § 28 (2, vi).

Present.	Preterite.			Ptep. stem.
1 p. s.	1 & 3 p. s.	2 p. s.	1 p. pl.	
hilpa, <i>I help</i>	halp	halpt ( <i>or -ft</i> )?	hulpum	hulpana-;
(fra-)hinpa, <i>I capture</i>	-hanp	-hanst	-hunpum	-hunpana-;
hwaírba, <i>I go, walk</i>	hwarb	hwarbt?	hwaúrbum	hwaúrbana-;
(af-)linna, <i>I depart</i>	-lann	-lant <sup>1</sup>	-lunnum	-lunnana-;
rinna, <i>I run</i>	rann	rant <sup>4</sup>	runnum	runnana-;
singwa, <i>I sing</i>	sangw	sangwt <sup>5</sup>	sungwum	sungwana-;
sinqua, <i>I sink</i>	sanqu	sanqt? <sup>5</sup>	sungquum	sungquana-;
(fra-)slinda, <i>I swallow</i> ( <i>up</i> )	-sland	-slanst	-slandum	-slundana-;
spinna, <i>I spin</i>	spann	spant	spunnum	spunnana-;
stingwa, <i>I dash, knock</i>	stanqu	stanqt? <sup>5</sup>	stunquum	stunquana-;
(af-)swaírba, <i>I wipe</i> ( <i>out</i> )	-swarb	-swarbt? <sup>6</sup>	-swaúrbum	-swaúrbana-;
swilta, <i>I die</i>	swalt	swalst	swultum	swultana-;
(ana-)trimpa, <i>I tread</i> ( <i>on</i> )	-tramp	-trampt?	-trumpum	-trumpana-;
(at-)pinsa, <i>I attract</i>	-pans	-panst	-punsum	-punsana-;
(ga-)paírsa, <i>I cause to</i> <i>wither</i> <sup>7</sup>	-pars	-parst	-paúrsum	-paúrsana-;
priska, <i>I thresh</i>	prask	praskt	pruskum	pruskana-;
waírpa, <i>I throw, cast</i>	warp	warpt ( <i>or -ft</i> )?	waúrpum	waúrpana-;
waírpa, <i>I become</i>	warp	warst	waúrpum	waúrpana-;
wilwa, <i>I rob, ravage</i>	walw	walwt <sup>5</sup>	wulwum	wulwana-;
winda, <i>I wind</i>	wand	wanst	wundum	wundana-;
winna, <i>I suffer</i>	wann	want <sup>4</sup>	wunnum	wunnana-;
(ga-)wrisqua, <i>I bear fruit</i> (but only 3 p. pl. pres. act., <i>gawrisquand</i> , occurs).				

## 74. Ablaut verbs of vowel-series (iv), § 24 (6).

## (1) Paradigm :

*beitan*, to bite.

Present tense.

Active :			Passive :		
	Indic.	Opt.	Imperat.	Indic.	Opt.
Sing. 1.	beita	beitau		beitada	beitaidau
2.	beitis	beitais	beit	beitaza	beit aizau
3.	beitip	beitai	beitadau	beitada	beitaidau
Dual 1.	beitōs	beitaiwa			
2.	beitats	beitaits	beitats		
Plur. 1.	beitam	beitaima	beitam	beitanda	beitaindau
2.	beitip	beitaip	beitip	beitanda	beitaindau
3.	beitand	beitaina	beitandau ;	beitanda	beitaindau.

<sup>5</sup> *Sangwt*, &c., on the pattern of *sakwt*, "thou sawest," and *trigguw*, "faithful."<sup>6</sup> *Swarb* does not occur; but *hwarb* (above) occurs several times. (See also Note <sup>6</sup>, § 31.)<sup>7</sup> Only the pass. ptep. occurs = "withered."

## Preterite.

	Indic.	Opt.	
Sing. 1.	bait	bitjau	
2.	baist	biteis	
3.	bait	biti	Infin. :—beitan ;
Dual 1.	bitu	biteiwa	Ptep. act. :—beitandan- ;
2.	bituts	biteits	Ptep. pass. :—bitana-.
Plur. 1.	bitum	biteima	
2.	bitup	biteip	
3.	bitun	biteina.	

(2) The verbs of this series are :

Present.	Preterite.			Ptcp.
1 p. s.	1 & 3 p. s.	2 p. s.	1 p. pl.	
beida, <i>I await</i>	baip	baist	bidum	bidana- ;
beita, <i>I bite</i>	bait	baist	bitum	bitana- ;
deiga, <i>I knead, mould</i>	daig	daigt ?	digum	digana- ;
dreiba, <i>I drive</i>	draif	draift	dribum	dribana- ;
greipa, <i>I seize</i>	graip	graigt ?	gripum	gripana- ;
hneiwa, <i>I sink, decline</i>	hnaiw	hnaiwt	hniwum	hniwana- ;
bi-leiba, <i>I remain</i>	-laif	-laift	-libum	-libana- ;
leihwa, <i>I lend</i>	laihw	laihwt	laihwum <sup>1</sup>	laihwana- <sup>1</sup> ;
(ga-)leipa, <i>I go</i>	-laip	-laist	-lipum	-lipana- ;
ur-reisa, <i>I arise</i>	-rais	-raist	-risum	-risana- ;
skeina, <i>I shine</i>	skain	skaint	skinum	skinana- ;
dis-skreita, <i>I rend</i>	-skrait	-skraist	-skritum	-skritana- ;
(bi-)smeita, <i>I be-smear</i>	-smait	-smaist	-smitum	-smitana- ;
sneipa, <i>I cut</i>	snaip	snaist	snipum	snipana- ;
speiwa, <i>I spit</i>	spaiw	spaiwt	spiwum	spiwana- ;
steiga, <i>I ascend</i>	staig	staigt ?	stigum	stigana- ;
sweiba, <i>I cease</i>	swaif	swaift	swibum	swibana- ;
ga-teiha, <i>I tell</i>	-taih	-taiht	-taihum <sup>1</sup>	-taihana- <sup>1</sup> ;
peiha, <i>I grow, thrive</i>	paih	paiht	paihum <sup>1</sup>	paihana- <sup>1</sup> ;
preiha, <i>I press upon</i>	praih	praiht	praihum <sup>1</sup>	praihana- <sup>1</sup> ;
weiha, <i>I fight</i>	waih	waiht	waihum <sup>1</sup>	waihana- <sup>1</sup> ;
weipa, <i>I crown</i>	waip	waipt ?	wipum	wipana- ;
(in-)weita, <i>I salute, worship</i>	-wait	-waist	-witum	-witana-.

We should perhaps add *kei(j)a*, *kai*, *ki(j)um*, *ki(j)ana-*, "sprout, grow," on the basis of the neut. ptcp. sing. *uski-janata*, "sprung or grown up" (Luke viii. 6). In a mutilated word of the codex (Mark vi. 19) Uppström sees *naiw*<sup>2</sup> (3 p. s.

<sup>1</sup> The student will be careful to distinguish between the refraction in these forms, and the proper diphthong of the pret. sing.

<sup>2</sup> *Sō Herodias \*naw imma*, E.V. "Herodias hated him." Förstemann would trace *\*neiwan* to an older *\*neip-wan* = Ger. *neiben*. Leo Meyer very ably discusses the word in KZ. XX. 308-312.



pret.), which implies an infin. \**neiwan*, “to bear a grudge against,” ∴ “to hate.” But I. Peters (“Conjecturen”) would read *naiþ*, infin. \**neiþ-an* : cf. Go. *neiþa-* (n.), “envy.” = Ger. *Neid*.

### 75. Ablaut Verbs of vowel-series (v), § 24 (6).

#### (1) Paradigm :

*biugan*, to bend.

Present tense.

Active :

Passive :

	Indic.	Opt.	Imper.	Indic.	Opt.
Sing. 1.	biuga	biugau		biugada	biugaidau
2.	biugis	biugais	biug	biugaza	biugaizau
3.	biugip	biugai	biugadau	biugada	biugaidau
Dual 1.	biugōs	biugaiwa			
2.	biugats	biugaits	biugats		
Plur. 1.	biugam	biugaima	biugam	biuganda	biugaindau
2.	biugip	biugaip	biugip	biuganda	biugaindau
3.	biugand	biugaina	biugandau ;	biuganda	biugaindau.

Preterite.

	Indic.	Opt.	
Sing. 1.	baug	bugau	
2.	baugt ?	bugeis	
3.	baug	bugi	Infin. :—biugan ;
Dual 1.	bugu	bugeiwa	Ptep. act. :—biugandan- ;
2.	buguts	bugeits	Ptep. pass. :—bugana-.
Plur. 1.	bugum	bugeima	
2.	bugup	bugeip	
3.	bugun	bugeina.	

#### (2) The verbs of this series are :

Present.	Preterite.			Ptep.
1 p. s.	1 & 3 p. s.	2 p. s.	1 p. pl.	
(ana-)biuda, <i>I bid</i>	-baup	-baust	-budum	-budana- ;
biuga, <i>I bend</i>	baug	baugt ?	bugum	bugana- ;
driuga, <i>I serve as a soldier</i>	draug	draugt ?	drugum	drugana- ;
driusa, <i>I fall</i>	draus	draust	drusum	drusana- ;
giuta, <i>I pour</i>	gaut	gaust	gutum	gutana- ;
hiufa, <i>I mourn</i>	hauf	hauft	hufum	hufana- ;
dis-hniupa, <i>I break asunder</i>	-hnaup	-hnaupt ?	-hnupum	-hnupana- ;
kiusa, <i>I prove, test</i>	kaus	kaust	kusum	kusana- ;
kriusta, <i>I gnash</i>	kraust	kraust	krustum	krustana- ;
liuda, <i>I grow</i>	laup	laust	ludum	ludana- ;
liuga, <i>I lie (mention)</i>	laug	laugt ?	lugum	lugana- ;
fra-liusa, <i>I lose</i>	-laus	-laust	-lusum	-lusana- ;
(ga-)lūka, <i>I shut</i>	-lauk	-laukt ?	-lukum	-lukana- ;

Present.	Preterite.			Ptcp.
1 p. s.	1 & 3 p. s.	2 p. s.	1 p. pl.	
niuta, <i>I obtain, enjoy</i>	naut	naust	nutum	nutana-;
siuka, <i>I am sick</i>	sauk	saukt?	sukum	sukana-;
af-skiuba, <i>I push aside</i>	-skauf	-skauft	-skubum	-skubana-;
sliupa, <i>I slip, creep</i>	slaup	slaupt?	slupum	slupana-;
tiuha, <i>I lead, bring</i>	tauht	tauht	taúhum <sup>1</sup>	taúhana- <sup>1</sup> ;
pliuha, <i>I flee</i>	plauh	plauht	plaúhum <sup>1</sup>	plaúhana- <sup>1</sup> ;
us-priuta, <i>I trouble</i>	-þraut	-þraust	-þrutum	-þrutana-.

An act. ptcp. plur., *wulandans*, "being-fervent (in spirit)" = ζέοντες (Rom. xii. 11), is generally thought to have a radical *ū* and to imply a verb like *lūkan*. Some grammarians have put a verb *sniuhan* into this list: a pret. *snauh* indeed occurs (Thess. I. ii. 16); but it may be the pret. *snau* of *sniwan* (§ 71) emphasized by the enclitic 'h (*uh*).

## 76. Ablaut Verbs of vowel series (vi), § 24 (6).

### (1) Paradigm:

*wakan*: to wake, watch.

#### Present tense.

Active :			Passive :		
	Indic.	Opt.	Imper.	Indic.	Opt.
Sing. 1.	waka	wakau		wakada	wakaidau
	wakis	wakais	wak	wakaza	wakaizau
	wakip	wakai	wakadau	wakada	wakaidau
Dual 1.	wakōs	wakaiwa			
	wakats	wakaits	wakats		
Plur. 1.	wakam	wakaima	wakam	wakanda	wakaindau
	wakip	wakaip	wakip	wakanda	wakaindau
	wakand	wakaina	wakandau ;	wakanda	wakaindau.

#### Preterite.

	Indic.	Opt.	
Sing. 1.	wōk	wōkjau	
2.	wōkt (or -ht)?	wōkeis	
3.	wōk	wōki	Inf. :—wakan;
Dual 1.	wōku	wōkeiwa	Ptcp. act. :—wakandan-;
2.	wōkuts	wōkeits	Ptcp. pass. :—wakana-.
Plur. 1.	wōkum	wōkeima	
2.	wōkup	wōkeip	
3.	wōkun	wōkeina.	

<sup>1</sup> See Note <sup>1</sup> to preceding Section.

(2) The normal verbs of this series are :

Present.	Preterite.			Ptep.
1 p. s.	1 & 3 p. s.	2 p. s.	1 p. pl.	
ala, <i>I am fed, I grow</i>	ōl	ōlt	ōlum	alana- ;
us-ana, <i>I breathe (my last)</i> <sup>1</sup>	-ōn	-ōnt	-ōnum	-anana- ;
ga-daban <sup>2</sup> , <i>to befall, to beseem</i>	ga-dōf (-dōb)			
ga-draba, <i>I hew out</i>	-drōf	-drōft	-drōbum	-drabana- ;
ga-draga, <i>I collect, heap up</i>	-drōg	-drōgt ?	-drōgum	-dragana- ;
fara, <i>I go, fare</i>	fōr	fōrt	fōrum	farana- ;
graba, <i>I dig</i>	grōf	grōft	grōbum	grabana- ;
af-hlapa, <i>I lade</i>	-hlōp	-hlōst	-hlōpum	-hlapana- ;
mala, <i>I grind</i>	mōl	mōlt	mōlum	malana- ;
saka, <i>I strive (in words)</i>	sōk	sōkt ?	sōkum	sakana- ;
skaba, <i>I shave</i>	skōf	skōft	skōbum	skabana- ;
slaha, <i>I smite</i>	slōh	slōht	slōhum	slahana- ;
swara, <i>I swear</i>	swōr	swōrt	swōrum	swarana- ;
pwaha, <i>I wash</i>	pwōh	pwōht	pwōhum	pwahana- ;
waka, <i>I wake, watch</i>	wōk	wōkt ?	wōkum	wakana-.

*Standa*, "I stand," is probably for \**stad-na* (§ 37, Note 1) ; pret. *stōp*, \**stōst*, *stōdum* ; the ptep. should be \**stadana*-. For \**aga*, *ōg*, see § 80 (1, xii).

(3) Seven other verbs of this series make their present-tense stems in *-ja*, viz. :

frapja, <i>I understand</i>	frōp	frōst	frōpum	frapana- ;
hafja, <i>I lift</i>	hōf	hōft	hōfum	hafana- ;
hlahja, <i>I laugh</i>	hlōh	hlōht	hlōhum	hlahana- ;
ga-rajja, <i>I count</i>	-rōp	-rōst	-rōpum	-rapana- ;
ga-skapja, <i>I create</i>	-skōp	-skōpt ?	-skōpum	-skapana- ;
skapja, <i>I injure</i>	skōp	skōst	skōpum	skapana- ;
wahsja, <i>I grow</i>	wōhs	wōhst	wōhsum	wahsana-.

*Wahsja* of course makes in the present 2 p. s. *wahseis* (which, however, does not occur), and 3 p. s. and 2 p. pl. *wahseip* ; cf. *sōkja* (§ 79 (1, iii)).

77. (1) Reduplicating Verbs (§ 25).—These, on account of their comparatively small number, may be treated in a single section, and, with the partial exception of those in (6) below, under a single paradigm, say—

<sup>1</sup> Only the preterite *uz-ōn* occurs, E.V., "he gave up the ghost."

<sup>2</sup> Impersonal: only the infin. and the 3 p. s. pret. occur, each once.

*haitan*, to call or name.

Present tense.

Active :			Passive :		
	Indic.	Opt.	Imper.	Indic.	Opt.
Sing. 1.	haita	haitau		haitada	haitaidau
2.	haitis	haitais	hait	haitaza	haitaizau
3.	haitip	haitai	haitadau	haitada	haitaidau
Dual 1.	haitōs	haitaiwa			
2.	haitats	haitaits	haitats		
Plur. 1.	haitam	haitaima	haitam	haitanda	haitaindau
2.	haitip	haitaip	haitip	haitanda	haitaindau
3.	haitand	haitaina	haitandau :	haitanda	haitaindau.

Preterite (Perfect).

	Indic.	Opt.	
Sing. 1.	haihait	haihaitjau	
2.	haihaist	haihaiteis	
3.	haihait	haihaiti	Infin. :—haitan ;
Dual 1.	haihaitu	haihaiteiwa	Ptcp. act. :—haitandan- ;
2.	haihaituts	haihaiteits	Ptcp. pass. :—haitana-.
Plur. 1.	haihaitum	haihaiteima	
2.	haihaitup	haihaiteip	
3.	haihaitun	haihaiteina.	

(2) Reduplicating verbs of the *ai*-series (vii) :

Present.	Pret. (Perf.).			Ptcp.
1 p. s.	1 & 3 p. s.	2 p. s.	1 p. pl.	
af-aika <sup>1</sup> , <i>I deny</i>	-aiaik	-aiaikt ?	-aiaikum	-aikana- ;
fraisa, <i>I tempt</i>	faifrais	faifraist	faifraisum	fraisana- ;
haita, <i>I call, name</i>	haihait	haihaist	haihaitum	haitana- ;
laika, <i>I leap, dance</i>	lailaik	lailaikt ?	lailaikum	laikana- ;
maita, <i>I cut</i>	maimait	maimaist	maimaitum	maitana- ;
skaida, <i>I divide</i>	skaiskaid	skaiskaist	skaiskaidum	skaidana-.

*Ga-plaihan*, "to console, comfort," probably belongs here ; but only present-tense forms occur.

(3) Of the *au*-series (viii) only *aukan*, "to add, augment," shows an extant preterite, in the 3 p. s. *ana-aiauk*, "he further added." But the following probably belong here :—*hlaupan*, "to leap" ; *stautan*, "to smite, slap" ; and possibly the uncertain *bnauan*, "to rub," of which only the pres. ptcp. plur. *bnauandans* occurs, and once only. *Bauan*, "to dwell," ought also to be a reduplicating verb : its present tense certainly belonged to the strong conjugation ; but the only preterite preserved in Ulfilas is of the second *weak* conjugation (*bauaida*).

<sup>1</sup> On *aika*, see § 26 (5, iv).

(4) Reduplicating verbs of the *al-* and *an-* series (ix) :

<i>falpa, I fold</i>	<i>faifalp</i>	<i>faifalst</i>	<i>faifalpum</i>	<i>falpana- :</i>
<i>halda, I hold</i>	<i>haihald</i>	<i>haihalst</i>	<i>haihaldum</i>	<i>haldana- :</i>
<i>ga-stalda, I possess</i>	<i>-staistald</i>	<i>-staistalst</i>	<i>-staistaldum</i>	<i>-staldana- :</i>
<i>fāha², I seize</i>	<i>faifah</i>	<i>faifāht</i>	<i>faifāhum</i>	<i>fāhana- :</i>
<i>hāha², I hang</i>	<i>haihah</i>	<i>haihāht</i>	<i>haihāhum</i>	<i>hāhana-.</i>

The following verbs, whose preterites do not occur, probably belong here :—(*us-*)*alpan*, “to grow (very) old” ; *blandan*, “to mix, mix with” ; (*ana-*)*prangan*, “to oppress” ; *saltan*, “to salt ;” (*us-*)*stangan*, “to knock or thrust (out)” ; and *waldan*, “to rule.” *Gangan*, ptep. *gangana-*, once had a perf. \**gaigang*, which has been supplanted by other forms : see § 80 (3)³.

(5) Reduplicating Verbs of the series *ē, ō, ē* (x) :

<i>flēka⁴, I bewail</i>	<i>faiflōk</i>	<i>faiflōkt ?</i>	<i>faiflōkum</i>	<i>flōkana- :</i>
<i>grēta, I weep</i>	<i>gaigrōt</i>	<i>gaigrōst</i>	<i>gaigrōtum</i>	<i>grētana- :</i>
<i>lēta, I let, leave</i>	<i>lailōt</i>	<i>lailōst</i>	<i>lailōtum</i>	<i>lētana- :</i>
<i>(ga-)rēda, I provide</i>	<i>-rairōp</i>	<i>-rairōst</i>	<i>-rairōpum</i>	<i>-redana- :</i>
<i>tēka, I touch</i>	<i>taitōk</i>	<i>taitōkt ?</i>	<i>taitōkum</i>	<i>-tēkana-.</i>

To this class is generally attached *slēpan*, “to sleep,” whose preterite shows *ē* throughout (§ 25 (2)). Alongside the pret. 1 & 3 p. s. *saislēp* there also appear *saizlēp* and (3 p. pl.) *saizlēpun* : this variation suggests that the reduplicating syllable did not originally bear the accent (§ 85 (3, iv)). The verb \**blēsan*, “to blow, puff,” may similarly have made \**baiblēs*, &c. ; but only the passive 3 p. s. pres. and the ptep. of the compound \**uf-blēsan*, “to puff up,” occur ; viz. : *uf-blēsada*, “(he) is puffed up” ; *uf-blēsans*, “puffed up,” i. e. “vain, proud.”

(6) The three verbs of the series *ai, ō, ai* (xi)—viz., *laian*, “to revile” ; *saian*, “to sow” ; *waian*, “to blow”—offer two or three peculiarities. Thus, between the final *i* of the root and the present-tense suffix-vowels *j* is, in a very few instances, phonetically inserted (§ 29 (2, v)), as in *saijīþ*, “he sows,” *saijands*, “sowing” ; the normal present-tense forms, however, are *saia*, *saiis*, *saiīþ*, . . . *saiand*, . . . 3 p. s. pass. *saiada* ; act. ptep. *saiands* ; pass. ptep. *saians* ; &c.<sup>5</sup> Again,

<sup>2</sup> For \**fanhan*, \**hanhan* (§ 26 (2)).

<sup>3</sup> On some of these verbs see § 78 (5).

<sup>4</sup> The present tense of this verb is not extant, and it has been suggested by Bezenberger (“Die *a-reihe*”), with whom Kluge and De Saussure agree, that it might have been *flōka* (like *hwōpa* below) : in the absence of evidence, I prefer to follow the older authorities.

<sup>5</sup> *Laian* does not occur in any pres.-tense forms ; *waian* occurs only in the dat. of the act. ptep. masc., *waiaudin*.

in the perfect, of which, however, very few forms are extant, it would seem that the 2 p. s. ended in *st* (not *t* only),—probably by assimilation to the 2 p. s. of the numerous strong verbs whose roots end in *t*, *þ*, *d*, and *s*, and more particularly to *gaigrōst*, *laīlōst*, and *raīrōst*; while in the dual and plural indic. the *u* that characterizes the personal suffixes of other strong verbs<sup>6</sup>, the roots of which all end in consonants, appears here also after the vowel *ō*. The complete pret. indic. should therefore be:

Sing. 1.	saīsō,	2.	saīsost,	3.	saīsō;
Dual 1.	saīsōu,	2.	saīsouts;		
Plur. 1.	saīsōum,	2.	saīsōuþ,	3.	saīsōun;

but the only forms that actually occur are: *saīsō*, *saīsōst*<sup>7</sup>; *laīlōun*; *waīwōun*.

(7) The only verb that certainly carries a radical *ō* throughout its conjugation is *hwōpan*, already displayed in § 25 (2), (3): this occurs somewhat frequently. With it should no doubt be coupled *blōtan*, “to worship,”—of which, however, only present-tense forms occur. We have seen in Note<sup>4</sup> that some would put a *\*flōkan* here.

## 78. Remarks on the Strong Conjugation.

(1) *Rare and Missing forms.*—No single Gothic verb (either weak or strong) is extant in all its forms: of most verbs, in fact, very few forms appear,—of many, only one or two. In the foregoing paradigms the deficient forms of the selected verbs are supplied by following the pattern of appropriate extant forms belonging to other verbs. One form, the 1 p. dual opt. of the pret., does not occur at all; but its suffix (*-eiwa*) is assumed to have been analogous to that of the corresponding person of the present tense (*-aiwa*). Of the 3 p. sing. imperative of a strong verb only one instance occurs (but in two places), viz., *at-steigadau* (*af þamma galgin*), “let-him-come-down (from the cross)”; but this form agrees with that of the single instance among the weak verbs,—*lausjadau* (*ina*), “let-him-deliver (him)”: on these patterns the other 3 p. s. imperatives are constructed. For the 3 p. plur. imper. the only pattern is supplied by the weak (*ai*-)verb *liugandau*, “let-them-marry.” The 2 p. s. strong imperative shows the bare present-tense root: final *b* and *d* should therefore pass into *f* and *þ*, as in *gīf* (§ 71), except when following a liquid or nasal. Of other strong-verb forms

<sup>6</sup> See (4) in the following section.

<sup>7</sup> This form only occurs once.

that of which additional examples would be most acceptable is the 2 p. s. indic. preterite: this is unfortunately wanting for all verbs whose roots end in *k* and in *p*; and we are left in doubt whether to say, *e. g.*, *wōkt*, *ga-skōpt*, or *wōht*, *ga-skōft*.

(2) *Stems and Personal Endings*.—These agree closely with those of the classical languages,—allowance being made, of course, for the action of Grimm's (and Verner's) Law and of the *Auslautgesetze* (§ 35 (2)): where they differ from those of Grk. and Lat., they do so in the direction of the still older endings of the Skt. and Zd. Thus the dual endings in *gibōs* (*-ōs* = *-ōws*, *-ōwes*) and *gibats* are closely similar to the Skt. *-āwas*, *-athas*, for the latter of which the Grk. shows *-ερον*. The personal ending *þ* in *fine* (*baíriþ*) = Lat. *fert*; &c.) really replaces a late Teut. *d* (ð), although it *appears* to be the normal equivalent of a classical *t* (§ 31 (5), (6)). Similarly the *s* of the second person sing. present of the act. replaces a late Teut. *z*. But in the passive, where the consonants are banked up by a final vowel, *d* and *z* regularly appear throughout, as Verner's Law requires. Thus 2 p. s. indic. *baíraza* (for *\*baíriza*<sup>1</sup>) = Grk. *φέρη* for *\*φέρεσαι* = Skt. *bhārasē*; 3 p. s. (which is also appropriated to the 1 p. s.) *baírada* (for *\*baírida*<sup>1</sup>) = *φέρεται* = Skt. *bhāratē*; and similarly for the opt. In the plur. of both the passive moods, the 3 p. has supplanted both the other persons; indic. *baíranda* = *φέρονται*, opt. *baír-aindau* = *φέρουντο*.

(3) The distinctive mood-suffix of the *Optative* was originally *jā* (*jē*); which in Go. appears as *i* in the present tense, as in Grk., and *ei* (= *ē*) in the pret. Before *i* in the pres. tense the stem-vowel *a* = *o* appears (as does *o* in Grk.),—*baír-ai-s*, *baír-ai* = *φέρ-οι-s*, *φέρ-οι*. But the 1 p. s. *baírau* is noticeable. Osthoff (M.U. IV. 302) gets the *u* from a sonant *m* (*baírau* = *\*beroiu(n)* = prim. *bhéroim*); and explains the 1 p. opt. of the Go. pret., *bērjau* (for which *\*bērjē* for *\*bērjēm* might be expected), as an assimilation to the 1 p. pres. *baírau*: compare, however, the 3 p. imperatives act., s. *baíradau*, pl. *baírandau*, with Skt. *bhāratām*, pl. *bhārantām*<sup>2</sup>. For the pass. opt. (*baíraizau*, &c.), we get no direct light upon the *u* from other languages; but we may conjecture that it spread

<sup>1</sup> See J. Schmidt, KZ. XXVI. 44.

<sup>2</sup> These are *middle* and not *act.*; but as to their equivalence with the Gothic forms Bopp, Schleicher, L. Meyer, Scherer, and others are agreed. The Grk. (*φέρετω*, *φέροντων*) and Lat. (*ferto*, *ferunto*) are, like the Go., active; so that Begemann not unreasonably attributes a change of voice to the Skt.

along these forms from others that have disappeared from the Gothic as we know it<sup>3</sup>.

(4) The prim. ending of the 2 p. s. perf. indic. act. was *-tha* (Skt. *-tha*, Grk. *-θα*), which should give, according to Grassmann (KZ. XII. 106) a Go. *t*; but according to Kluge (KZ. XXVI. 91) a Go. *þ*. It will be seen, however, by a glance down the tables of strong verbs, that *t* would even on the latter view, necessarily appear in a large majority of the 2nd persons of the preterite, in virtue of the phonetic combinations of the suffix with the final consonants of the roots; and this majority would assimilate the remainder. The *u* of the pret. 1 p. dual answers to Skt. *-va* (= prim. *-wa*); in the 1 p. pl., *-um* is=*m*, from after which a prim. *e* (*a*) has vanished; and in the 3 p. pl., *un* is=*n*, from prim. *-nt(i)*. From these "persons" the *u* spread to the 2 p. dual and plural.

(5) *Vowel-shunting*.—Certain verbs of the *waka*- and of the *falpa*-series are probably referable to roots that originally fell within the *e*-(*o*)-series; as: *faran* (cf. O.Slav. *pera*, Grk. *πόρος*); *malan* (cf. O.Slav. *melja*, Lat. *molere*, and the weak root in Go. *muldō*, "dust"); *blandan*, probably related to *blinda*-; and perhaps a few others. It would thus seem, that, as *a*=prim. *o* and *a* also=prim. *A*, some roots involving the former have been attracted to the group of genuine *A*-roots and have become the bases of similar ablaut and reduplicating verbs.

79. *Weak Verbs*.—For the present-tense stems of weak verbs see § 43 (2). The personal endings of this tense are precisely the same as for the present tense of strong verbs; but before some of these endings, and even (in the 2 p. s. imperative) where there is no such ending, the stem-suffix, in certain instances, undergoes slight phonetic changes; which circumstance makes it advisable to treat this tense separately for each class of weak verbs. In the preterite, however, the stem of each class maintains a constant form throughout; and as, besides, the series of inflexional endings is unvarying, the preterites of all the four classes of weak verbs may be conveniently treated together.

(1) Present tense of *ja*-verbs (First Weak Conjugation).—In this class it is necessary to take into account the form of the radical syllable: this may be (i) short and closed<sup>1</sup>, as

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Skt. opt. mid. 2 & 3 p. dual and 2 p. plur. in *-thām*, *-tām*, and *-dhwām*.

<sup>1</sup> See Note <sup>2</sup> § to 48.



*nas-*; (ii) long and open, as *stō-*; (iii) long (by nature or "position") and closed, as *sōk-*, *hard-*. In conjugation, the sub-classes (i) and (ii) go together, and *j* is preserved throughout the tense except in the 2 p. s. imperative, where *ei* (= *ī*) appears for *ja*<sup>2</sup>: in sub-class (iii) *ja* passes into *ei* whenever it is immediately followed by *s* or *p*, and also in the 2 p. s. imperative. Paradigms:

(i) *nasjan*, to save.

Active :			Passive :		
	Indic.	Opt.	Imper.	Indic.	Opt.
Sing. 1.	<i>nasja</i>	<i>nasjau</i>		<i>nasjada</i>	<i>nasjaidau</i>
	<i>nasjis</i>	<i>nasjais</i>	<i>nasei</i>	<i>nasjaza</i>	<i>nasjaizau</i>
	<i>nasjip</i>	<i>nasjai</i>	<i>nasjadau</i>	<i>nasjada</i>	<i>nasjaidau</i>
Dual 1.	<i>nasjōs</i>	<i>nasjaiwa</i>			
	<i>nasjats</i>	<i>nasjaits</i>	<i>nasjats</i>		
Plur. 1.	<i>nasjam</i>	<i>nasjaima</i>	<i>nasjam</i>	<i>nasjanda</i>	<i>nasjaindau</i>
	<i>nasjip</i>	<i>nasjaip</i>	<i>nasjip</i>	<i>nasjanda</i>	<i>nasjaindau</i>
	<i>nasjand</i>	<i>nasjaina</i>	<i>nasjandau</i> ;	<i>nasjanda</i>	<i>nasjaindau.</i>
Infin. : <i>nasjan</i> ; Ptcp. act. : <i>nasjandan-</i> .					

Like *nasjan* are conjugated : *hazjan*, to praise ; *us-hramjan*, to crucify ; *latjan*, to hinder ; *matjan*, to eat ; (*ga-*)*tamjan*, to tame ; *pragjan*, to run ; *waljan*, to choose ; *wasjan*, to clothe ; and others. (See § 43 (2, i).)

(ii) *stōjan*, to judge.

Active :			Passive :		
	Indic.	Opt.	Imper.	Indic.	Opt.
Sing. 1.	stōja	stōjau		stōjada	stōjaidau
2.	stōjis	stōjais	*stauei <sup>3</sup>	stōjaza	stōjaizau
3.	stōjip	stōjai	stōjadau	stōjada	stōjaidau
Dual 1.	stōjōs	stōjaiwa			
2.	stōjats	stōjaits	stōjats		
Plur. 1.	stōjam	stōjaima	stōjam	stōjanda	stōjaindau
2.	stōjip	stōjaip	stōjip	stōjanda	stōjaindau
3.	stōjand	stōjaina	stōjandau ;	stōjanda	stōjaindau.
Infin. : stōjan ; Ptcp. act. : stōjandan-.					

<sup>2</sup> But in Denominatives of which the bases ended in a consonant, the imper. ought to end in *i* (*weitwōd-*, "a witness," \**weitwōdi*, "do thou bear witness"). The only imper. that has preserved this *i* is *hiri* (§ 26 (8, iii)) : the rest have been assimilated to the imperatives of vbs. based on vowel-stems. (See Brugman, M.U. IV. 414+).

<sup>3</sup> See § 26 (4, v).

The following are conjugated similarly; but *au* and *iu* become *aw* and *iw* before the *ei* of the 2 p. s. imperative<sup>4</sup>:—*taujan*, to do, make (imp. *tawei*<sup>5</sup>); *straujan*, to strew (imp. *\*strawei*); (*ana*-)*niujan*, to renew (imp. *\*ana-niwei*); (*ga*-)*quiujan*, to give life to; *siujan*, to sew: also, probably, *\*(af-)dōjan* (imp. *\*af-dauei*) and *\*af-mōjan* (imp. *\*af-mauēi*), which both mean “to fatigue, wear out,” nearly, and are deduced from the past pteps. *af-dauida-*, *af-mauida-*,—each occurring once in the N. pl. masc.

(iii) *sōkjan*, to seek.

Active :			Passive :		
	Indic.	Opt.	Imper.	Indic.	Opt.
Sing. 1.	sōkja	sōkjau		sōkjada	sōkjaidau
2.	sōkeis	sōkjais	sōkei	sōkjaza	sōkjaizau
3.	sōkeip	sōkjai	sōkjadau	sōkjada	sōkjaidau
Dual 1.	sōkjōs	sōkjaiwa			
2.	sōkjats	sōkjaits	sōkjats		
Plur. 1.	sōkjam	sōkjaima	sōkjam	sōkjanda	sōkjaindau
2.	sōkeip	sōkjaip	sōkeip	sōkjanda	sōkjaindau
3.	sōkjand	sōkjaina	sōkjandau ;	sōkjanda	sōkjaindau.
Infin. : sōkjan ; Ptep. act. : sōkjandan-.					

So also, when the radical syllable is long by “position,” we have *ga-hardja*, I harden, *ga-hardeis*, *ga-hardeip*; &c.

On this pattern are conjugated: *arbaidjan*, to labour; *draibjan*, to drive; *hailjan*, to heal; *hauhjan*, to exalt; *hausjan*<sup>6</sup>, to hear; *laisjan*, to teach; *mēljan*, to write; (*ur*-)*raisjan*, to raise (up); *þiuhþjan*, to bless; *andwaúrdjan*, to answer; (*ga*-)*blindjan*, to make blind; *fulljan*, to fill; *timrjan*, to build; and many more. (§ 43 (2, i).)

(2) Present tense of *ai*-verbs (Second Weak Conjugation).

—The most noticeable fact in the present tense of this conjugation is that the stem-characteristic (*ai*) appears only in those persons of the indic. which have the ending *s* or *þ*, and in the 2 p. s. & pl. imperative. All the other forms, active and passive, are the same as those of the strong verbs. Paradigm:

<sup>4</sup> And also, as we shall see, in the preterite.

<sup>5</sup> This is the only imperative of the kind that actually occurs.

<sup>6</sup> *Hausjōn* also occurs; and *un-beistjōps*, “unleavened,” implies *\*beistjōn*, “to leaven,” by *ga-beistjan*. These *jō*-forms are perhaps assimilations to the 3rd conjugation.

*haban*, to have.

Active :			Passive :		
	Indic.	Opt.	Imper.	Indic.	Opt.
Sing. 1.	haba	habau		habada	habaidau
2.	habais	habais	habai	habaza	habaizau
3.	habaiþ	habai	habadau	habada	habaidau
Dual 1.	habōs	habaiwa			
2.	habats	habaits	habats		
Plur. 1.	habam	habaima	habam	habanda	habaindau
2.	habaiþ	habaiþ	habaiþ	habanda	habaindau
3.	haband	habaina	habandau ;	habanda	habaindau.
Infin. : haban ; Ptep. act. : habandan-.					

Similarly are conjugated : *fastan*, to fast ; *fijan*, to hate ; *liugan*, to marry ; *(ana)silan*, to be still ; and others. (§ 43, (2, ii).)

(3) Present tense of *ō*-verbs (Third Weak Conjugation).—Here the *ō* appears throughout the tense as the only suffix-vowel, absorbing even the mood-vowel (*i*) of the opt. in both act. and pass. : it is therefore immediately followed by the consonantal personal endings, where there are such ; in other places *ō* itself appears as the final. Paradigm :

*salbōn*, to anoint (salve).

Active :			Passive :		
	Indic.	Opt.	Imper.	Indic.	Opt.
Sing.	1. salbō	salbō		salbōda	salbōdau
	2. salbōs	salbōs	salbō	salbōza	salbōzau
	3. salbōþ	salbō	salbōdau	salbōda	salbōdau
Dual	1. salbōs	salbōwa			
	2. salbōts	salbōts	salbōts		
Plur.	1. salbōm	salbōma	salbōm	salbōnda	salbōndau
	2. salbōþ	salbōþ	salbōþ	salbōnda	salbōndau
	3. salbōnd	salbōna	salbōndau ;	salbōnda	salbōndau.
Infin. : salbōn ; Ptep. act. : salbōndan-.					

So also are conjugated : *faginōn*, to rejoice ; *hwarbōn*, to go about ; *karōn*, to care ; *lapōn*, to invite ; *mitōn*, to think ; *spillōn*, to tell, proclaim ; and others. (§ 42 (2, iii).)

(4) Present tense of *na*-(*nō*-)verbs (Fourth Weak Conjugation,—“Correlative Passives”).—The *n* appears throughout the tense ; and the endings that follow it are the same as those of the strong verbs. This conjugation, being passive

in force, though active in form, does not admit of being further passivized: so that no inflexional (medio-)passive can be formed. Paradigm:

*fullnan*, to be filled.

Indic.

Opt.

Sing.	1. fullna, "I am filled"	fullnau, "(that) I may be filled"
	2. fullnis, "thou art filled"	fullnais, "(that) thou mayst be filled"
	3. fullnip, "he is filled"	fullnai, "(that) he may be filled"
Dual	1. fullnōs, "we-two are filled"	fullnaiwa, "(that) we-two may be filled"
	2. fullnats, "ye-two are filled"	fullnait, "(that) ye-two may be filled"
Plur.	1. fullnam, "we are filled"	fullnaima, "(that) we may be filled"
	2. fullnip, "ye are filled"	fullnaip, "(that) ye may be filled"
	3. fullnand, "they are filled"	fullnaina, "(that) they may be filled."

Imperative.

Sing.

Dual.

Plur.

1.		fullnam, "let-us-be filled"
2.	fulln, "be thou filled"	{ fullnats, "be-ye- two filled" }
3.	fullnadau, "let-him be filled"	fullnandau, "let-them-be-filled."

Infinitive: fullnan, "to be filled"; Participle present: fullnands, "being filled."

Similarly are conjugated: *auknan*, to be augmented; *and-bundnan*, to be unbound; *ga-daupnan*, to be killed; *gabignan*, to be enriched; *ga-hailnan*, to be made whole; *af-lifnan*, to be left (over); *mikilnan*, to be magnified; *minznan*, to be diminished; *fra-quistnan*, to be destroyed; *ga-quiuun*, to be made alive; *dis-skritnan*, to be torn asunder; *ga-paúrnsnan*, to be dried up; and others. (§ 43 (2, iv).)

It may be noted (a) that a large majority of these verbs occur only as compounds with prefixes; and (b) that many of them may equally well, sometimes better, be rendered by equivalent intransitive verbs; as: *auknan*, to increase; *ga-daupnan*, to die; *minznan*, to decrease; *fraquistnan*, to perish; *gaquiuun*, to revive; and the like.

(5) The *Preterite* of all the weak verbs is formed by suffixing to the present-tense stem, or a modification thereof, the syllables (Indic.) *-da*, *-dēs*, *-da*; *-dēdu*, *-dēduts*; *-dēdum*, *-dēduþ*, *-dēdun*; (Opt.) *-dēdjau*, *-dēdeis*, &c. (See § 81.) Before these suffixes, *ja*-verbs show *i* (*nas-i-da*; &c.); and the 2nd and 3rd conjugation show their characteristics *ai* and *ō*: of the correlative passives the full suffix *-nō-* appears. Paradigms:

## First Conjugation.

(i) *nasida*,  
I saved.(ii) *stauida*,  
I judged.(iii) *sōkida*,  
I sought.

## Indicative :

Sing. 1.	<i>nasida</i>	<i>stauida</i>	<i>sōkida</i>
2.	<i>nasidēs</i>	<i>stauidēs</i>	<i>sōkidēs</i>
3.	<i>nasida</i>	<i>stauida</i>	<i>sōkida</i>
Dual 1.	<i>nasidēdu</i>	<i>stauidēdu</i>	<i>sōkidēdu</i>
2.	<i>nasidēduts</i>	<i>stauidēduts</i>	<i>sōkidēduts</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>nasidēdum</i>	<i>stauidēdum</i>	<i>sōkidēdum</i>
2.	<i>nasidēdup</i>	<i>stauidēdup</i>	<i>sōkidēdup</i>
3.	<i>nasidēdun</i>	<i>stauidēdun</i>	<i>sōkidēdun</i> ;

## Optative :

“ (that) I might save, judge, seek ” :

Sing. 1.	<i>nasidēdjau</i>	<i>stauidēdjau</i>	<i>sōkidēdjau</i>
2.	<i>nasidēdeis</i>	<i>stauidēdeis</i>	<i>sōkidēdeis</i>
3.	<i>nasidēdi</i>	<i>stauidēdi</i>	<i>sōkidēdi</i>
Dual 1.	<i>nasidēdeiwa</i>	<i>stauidēdeiwa</i>	<i>sōkidēdeiwa</i>
2.	<i>nasidēdeits</i>	<i>stauidēdeits</i>	<i>sōkidēdeits</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>nasidēdeima</i>	<i>stauidēdeima</i>	<i>sōkidēdeima</i>
2.	<i>nasidēdeip</i>	<i>stauidēdeip</i>	<i>sōkidēdeip</i>
3.	<i>nasidēdeina</i>	<i>stauidēdeina</i>	<i>sōkidēdeina</i> .

## Second, Third, and Fourth Conjugations.

(iv) *habaida*,  
I had.(v) *salbōda*,  
I anointed.(vi) *fullnōda*,  
I was filled.

## Indicative :

Sing. 1.	<i>habaida</i>	<i>salbōda</i>	<i>fullnōda</i>
2.	<i>habaidēs</i>	<i>salbōdēs</i>	<i>fullnōdēs</i>
3.	<i>habaida</i>	<i>salbōda</i>	<i>fullnōda</i>
Dual 1.	<i>habaidēdu</i>	<i>salbōdēdu</i>	<i>fullnōdēdu</i>
2.	<i>habaidēduts</i>	<i>salbōdēduts</i>	<i>fullnōdēduts</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>habaidēdum</i>	<i>salbōdēdum</i>	<i>fullnōdēdum</i>
2.	<i>habaidēdup</i>	<i>salbōdēdup</i>	<i>fullnōdēdup</i>
3.	<i>habaidēdun</i>	<i>salbōdēdun</i>	<i>fullnōdēdun</i> ;

## Optative :

“ (that) I might have, anoint, be filled ” :

Sing. 1.	<i>habaidēdjau</i>	<i>salbōdēdjau</i>	<i>fullnōdēdjau</i>
2.	<i>habaidēdeis</i>	<i>salbōdēdeis</i>	<i>fullnōdēdeis</i>
3.	<i>habaidēdi</i>	<i>salbōdēdi</i>	<i>fullnōdēdi</i>
Dual 1.	<i>habaidēdeiwa</i>	<i>salbōdēdeiwa</i>	<i>fullnōdēdeiwa</i>
2.	<i>habaidēdeits</i>	<i>salbōdēdeits</i>	<i>fullnōdēdeits</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>habaidēdeima</i>	<i>salbōdēdeima</i>	<i>fullnōdēdeima</i>
2.	<i>habaidēdeip</i>	<i>salbōdēdeip</i>	<i>fullnōdēdeip</i>
3.	<i>habaidēdeina</i>	<i>salbōdēdeina</i>	<i>fullnōdēdeina</i> .

(6) The stem of the past (perfect or passive) participle of weak verbs has been shown (§ 40 (6, iii)) to be formed by the suffix *-da* (=prim. *-tá*), before which the verb-root + vowel appear in the same form as in the preterites,—*nasida-*, saved; *stauida-*, judged; *habaida-*, had; *salbōda-*, anointed; &c.: and in the strong or vowel declension of this ptep. it has been seen (§ 60 (2)) that *þ* appears for *d* in the N. s. m. and the N. & A. s. n. The *nō*-verbs are, of course, incapable of forming a ptep. of this pattern.

80. *Irregular or Mixed Verbs*.—These may be arranged in three groups: (1) “Preterite-presents”; (2) *is-*, *wisan*, “to be,” and *wiljan*, “to will”; (3) Verbs with irregular or contracted preterites. With some trifling exceptions and additions, these mixed verbs are, or have been, common to all the Teutonic dialects.

(1) The “Preterite-present” verbs are remains of old strong verbs whose original preterites (*i. e.* perfects) gradually acquired the force of the present tense (whence their designation), and whose original presents, for the most part, ultimately died out<sup>1</sup>. The new presents still maintained their old strong-verb-preterite inflexions; but upon the weak forms of the roots (where such forms appear) were constructed new preterites on the general pattern of the weak preterite (See next §). In classifying these “preterite-presents” it is usual to arrange them according to the several ablaut series to which the parent verbs belonged; as follows:—

(a) Ablaut-series *i*, *a*, *ē*, *i* (§ 71).—Here are generally placed *mag*, “I can, am able,” and some compounds of *-nah* (impers.), “it sufficeth (?)”; but their right to this place is open to dispute (See Note<sup>2</sup>). The extant forms, however, are:

(i) <i>mag</i> .	
Present :	
Indic.	Opt.
Sing. 1. <i>mag</i>	<i>magjau</i>
2. <i>magt</i>	<i>mageis</i>
3. <i>mag</i>	<i>magi</i>
Preterite :	
Indic.	Opt.
<i>mahta</i>	<i>mahtēdi</i>

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of the new pret.-present, however, was not exactly that of the old present tense, but was apparently related to it by way of consequence or result: thus Go. *wait* = Grk. *oīda* = Skt. *vēda* = (“I have seen” ∴) “I know.” This example is interesting as an instance of tense-shunting, accompanied by loss of redupl. syllable, dating from primitive times.

Present :		Preterite	
Indic.	Opt.	Indic.	Opt.
Dual 1. <i>magu</i>			
2. <i>maguts</i>			
Plur. 1. <i>magum</i>	<i>mageima</i>	<i>mahtōlim</i>	
2. <i>maguþ</i>	<i>mageiþ</i>		
3. <i>magun</i>		<i>mahtōlin</i>	<i>mahtōlun</i>
Infin.: * <i>magan</i> ; Ptcp. act.: <i>magandan-</i> ; Past ptp.: <i>mahta-</i> .			

There is of course no passive; nor, with the remarkable exception of No. (xii), in series *ee* below, does this or any other of these verbs appear to have evolved a new imperative. The remainder of the paradigm, although not extant in Ulfilas, may be easily supplied.

(ii) *nah*.

This occurs only in the compounds (3 p.s. impersonal) *binah*, "it is permitted or lawful" (= Lat. *licet*), and *ganah*, "it sufficeth." But various closely-related forms occur; as: *binaúht ist = binah* (where *binaúht* is participial;—*ganauhan* (m. subst.), "sufficiency";—*ganōha-* (adj.), "enough";—and *ganōhjan*, "to satisfy," with its correl. pass. *ganōhnan*, "to be satisfied"<sup>2</sup>.

(b) Ablaut-series *i, a, u, u* (§ 73).—The verbs showing this series may be divided into two small classes, of which the first, comprising *skal*, "I owe, ought, am bound to," and *man*, "I think, suppose," belong, except in having avoided the irregular *ē*-grade (See § 24 (3)), to the *nima* group (§ 72). The extant forms are:

<sup>2</sup> To put *mag* and *nah* under this ablaut series implies that the older parent-verbs would have shown in Gothic the main parts \**miga*, *mag*, \**mēgum*, \**migana-*, and \**naiha*, *nah*, \**nēkum*, \**naihana-*. In *magum*, *maggau*, &c., therefore, *a* must be supposed to have penetrated from *mag*. But on certain grounds (such as the probable equivalence of the ptcp. *mahta-* with the Lat. *macto-*), De Saussure (Mém., pp. 63. 158) would treat *mag* as an A-root, which should once have shown the series *a, ō, a, a* (§ 24 (5)); so that the *ō* of the three sing. persons of the old perf. indic. would thus have been assimilated to the numerous *a*-forms. It is true we find in O.N. *mēgum*, *megu*, &c.; but on the other hand O.S. shows *mugum*, *mugi*, &c.; and O.H.G. fluctuates between *a-*, *e-*, and *u*-forms. These differences rather suggest that an isolated verb was attracted, in different dialects, to the powerful *e-* and *u*-series, than (as is generally supposed) that the Gothic evolved a vocalism *sui generis* out of one of the numerous verbs of the *gīða* class. (See, however, *aiħ*, No. (xiii).)

Of *nah* the vowel values are uncertain: it is generally compared with Lat. *nac* (*nanciscor*), or Grk. *νεκ* (*ἔνεγκα*). The Gothic itself shows *u*-forms in *binaúht* and *ganauhan*; so does A-S. in the plur. *genugon*, opt. *genuge*. On the other hand Go. *ganōha-*, &c., O.N. *gnōgr*, A-S. *ganōh*, show *ō*, on which vowel see § 26 (4).

(iii) *skal*.

Present tense :

*Indic.* : S. 1 p., *skal*, 2. *skalt*, 3. *skal* ;—Pl. 1. *skulum*, 2. *skuluþ*, 3. *skulun* ;—*Opt.* : S. 1 p. *skuljau*, 3. *skuli* ;—Pl. 2. *skuleiþ*.

Preterite :

*Indic.* : S. 1, 3. *skulda* ;—Pl. 1. *skuldēdum*, 3. *skuldēdun* ;—*Opt.* : S. 3. *skuldēdi* ;—Pl. 2. *skuldēdeiþ*.

*Past ptcp.* : *skulda-*.

The *infin.* should be *\*skulan*.

(iv) *man*.

Present *Indic.* : S. 1, 3. *man* ;—Pl. 2. *munuþ* ;—*Opt.* : S. 2. *muneis*, 3. *muni* ;—Pl. 1. *muneima*, 2. *muneiþ*.

Pret. *Indic.* : S. 1, 3. *munda* ;—Pl. 1. *mundēdum*, 3. *mundēdun*.

*Ptcp. pres.* : *munandan-* ; *Ptcp. past* : *munda-*.

*Infin.* : *munan*.

(*N.B.*—*man*, *munda* must be carefully distinguished from the *ai*-verb, *muna*, *munaida*, “I intend,” “I intended.”)

The second class contains *kann*, “I know, am acquainted with” (obsolete 1 p. pres. *\*kinna*) ; *þarf*, “I need” (obs. 1 p. pres. *\*þairfa*<sup>3</sup>) ; and *gadars*, “I dare, am bold” (obs. 1 p. pres. *\*gadairsa*). The radical syllable of each of these is of the *binda* type (§ 73). The forms preserved in *Ulfilas* are :

(v) *kann*.

Present :

Preterite :

	Indic.	Opt.	Indic.	Opt.
Sing. 1.	<i>kann</i>	<i>kunnjau</i>	<i>kunþa</i>	<i>kunþēdjau</i>
2.	<i>kant</i>	<i>kunneis</i>	<i>kunþēs</i>	
3.	<i>kann</i>	<i>kunni</i>	<i>kunþa</i>	
Plur. 1.	<i>kunnum</i>		<i>kunþēdum</i>	
2.	<i>kunnuþ</i>	<i>kunneiþ</i>		<i>kunþēdeiþ</i>
3.	<i>kunnun</i>	<i>kunneina</i> ;	<i>kunþēdun</i>	

*Infin.* : *kunnan* ; *Act. ptcp.* : *kunnandan-* ; *Pass. ptcp.* : *kunþa-*.

(*N.B.*—From this verb must be distinguished the *ai*-verb, *-kunnan*, pret. *-kunnaida*, “get to know, learn,” found in several compounds.)

<sup>3</sup> The radical syllable, as the cognate dialects show, probably ended in *f*, not *b* ; *þarf*, *þaurbum*, therefore, is an instance of the accentual differentiation treated in § 31 (4) ; see especially Note <sup>6</sup> to that §.



(vi) *þarf*.

*Pres. Indic.*: S. 1, 3. *þarf*, 2. *þarft*;—Pl. 1. *þáirbun*, 2. *þáirbuþ*, 3. *þáirbun*;—*Opt.*: Pl. 1. *þáirbeinna*, 2. *þáirbeip*.

*Pret. Indic.*: S. 1, 3. *þáirfta*.

*Ptcp. pres.*: *þáirbandan*—; *Ptcp. past*: *þáirfta*—.

The *inf.* should be \**þáirban*.

(vii) *gaders*.

*Pres. Indic.*: S. 1, 3. *gaders*; Pl. 1. *gadaúrsum*;—*Opt.*: S. 1. *gadaúrsjau*.

*Pret. Indic.*: S. 1, 3. *gadaúrsta*; Pl. 3. *gadaúrstēdun*.

*Inf.*: *gadaúrsan*.

(c) Ablaut-series *ei, ai, i, i* (§ 74).—To this belong two verbs,—*lais*, “I know,” and *wait*, also “I know.”

(viii) *lais*.

(This, 1 p. sing., is the only form extant, and only occurs once<sup>4</sup>.)

(ix) *wait*.

## Present:

## Preterite:

	Indic.	Opt.	Indic.	Opt.
Sing. 1. wait		witjau	wissa	
2. waist		witeis	wissēs	wissēdeis
3. wait		witi	wissa	wissēdi
Dual 2. wituts				
Plur. 1. witum				
2. wituþ		witeip	wissēduþ	
3. witun			wissēdun	wissēdeina.

*Inf.*: *witan*; *Act. ptcp.*: *witandan*—.

The verbs *fra-weitan*, “to avenge,” and *in-weitan*, “to salute, to worship” (§ 74), show the parent verb \**weitan*, *wait*, *witum*, \**witana*—; from which there are several other derivatives<sup>5</sup>. (N.B.—The above *witan* must be carefully distin-

<sup>4</sup> But various derivatives of the obsolete \**leisa*, *lais*, \**lisum*, \**lisana*—, are extant; as: *listi*- (f.), “craft”; (*lubja*)-*leisein*- (f.), “(the black) art.” The verb is believed to have meant originally, “to go, go after, follow carefully,” which meaning appears in *lausti*- (m.), “a track, footstep”; *laistjan*, “to follow.” For *laistjan* and \**lisnan*, see Note <sup>7</sup> to § 43.

<sup>5</sup> Certain odd parts of *witan*, about which the popular mind is not quite clear, are scarcely yet obsolete in England. It may be worth while to note, therefore, that

Go. *witan* = A-S. *witan* = Engl. *to wit* (pres. infin.);

„ *wait* = „ *wāt* = „ *I wot* (1. p. s. pres.);

„ *wissa* = „ *wiste* = „ *I, or he wist* (1 & 3 p. s. pret.).

I have heard the O.E. *I wis* (i. e. *iwis* for *gewis* = Ger. *gewiß*) given as the present tense to *I wist*!

guished from the *ai*-verb, *witan*, pret. *witaida*, "to observe, watch.")

(d) Ablaut-series *iū*, *au*, *u*, *u* (§ 75).—Here falls only

(x) 3 p. s. *daug*, "(it) is good for, (it) profiteth," generally called an "impersonal" verb; but in both the places in which it occurs it is accompanied by a proper nominative.

(e) Ablaut-series *a*, *ō*, *ō*, *ǎ* (§ 76).—Here belong *gamōt*, "I find room, dwell," and *ōg*, "I fear, am afraid."

(xi) *gamōt*.

The extant parts are only: *Pres. Indic.*: S. 3. *gamōt*;—*Opt.*: Pl. 1. *gamōteima*;—*Pret. Indic.*: Pl. 3. *gamostēdun*.

(xii) *ōg*.

*Pres. Indic.*: S. 1, 3. *ōg*;—*Opt.*: S. 2. *ogeis*; Pl. 2. *ōgeiþ*;—*Imperative*, S. 2. *ogs*.

*Pret. Indic.*: S. 1, 3. *ōhta*; Pl. 3. *ōhtēdun*.

*Ptcp. pres.*: *ōgandan*—

The 2 p. s. pres. of (xi) should be *gamōst*, and of (xii) probably *ōgt* (cf. *magt*). The new Infinitives do not occur, but may be safely given as *\*gamōtan* and *\*ōgan*. The obsolete *\*ag-an*, of which *ōg* was originally the pret. (perf.), survives in the participial adj. *un-agands*, "without-fear"; in the derived verb (*af-*)*aggan*, "to frighten (off)"; and in some other related words. The sing. imperative *ōgs* is a unique formation in Gothic<sup>6</sup>; the plur., *ogeiþ*, is really the optative.

(f) The last of the preterite-presents is

(xiii) *aiħ*, "I possess";

of which the phonology has been much discussed<sup>7</sup>.

The diphthong may be either = *ai*,—in which case the parent verb would once have resembled *aika* (§ 77 (2)), with a perf. *\*ai-aiħ*, plur. *\*ai-aigum*, which must have dropt the

<sup>6</sup> The *s* is supposed, by Bezzenberger and by Scherer, to be a survival of the old *middle* perfect imperative, which, in Grk., ended in *-σο*, = a primitive *-sua*.—J. Kremer (PBB. VIII. 388) puts down *ōgs* as a substantive: if he means that the Go. *ōgs* is actually (sometimes) a substantive, it may be granted that such a value would suit phrases like *Ni ōgs þus* (with *sijai* understood)="Have no fear," ∴ "Fear not" (Syntax, § 91 (vi) below): yet even here it is unnecessary, as the dative is a frequent accompaniment of verbs of fearing (§ 91 (v)); while in other phrases no meaning but the imperative will suit; as in: *Ni hugei hauhaba, ak ōgs*, "Don't think proudly=Be not highminded, but fear."

<sup>7</sup> Most recently by Möller, KZ. XXIV. 444+, and Osthoff, M.U. IV. 205.

reduplication on becoming a new present,—or = the deep-tone of the *i*-series (§ 74); in which case it must have penetrated the plural and other forms (cf. *may* in (i) above).

As to its final guttural, this verb is one of the instances (Note <sup>6</sup>, § 31) in which the accentual differentiation of consonants (*h~g*) survives in Gothic; although, as will forthwith be seen, there is a distinct tendency towards the assimilation of one to the other. The following are the extant parts; and after each form in the present tense is stated the number of times it occurs:—

Present tense :

*Indic. S.* 1 & 3 p. *aih* (7) and *aig* (1);—*Plur.* 1. *aigum* (2) and *aihum* (2), 2. *aihuþ* (1), 3. *aigun* (2);  
*Opt. S.* 3 p. *aigi* (2);—*Pl.* 2. *aigēiþ* (1), 3. *aigēina* (2);  
*Ptcp. pres.* *aigands* (5), *aihands* (1).

Preterite :

*Indic. S.* 1, 3. *aihta*; *Pl.* 3. *aihtēdun*;—*Opt. S.* 2. *aihtēdeis*.

Thus, in the pres. sing. the correct *h*-form appears 7 times, against 1 *g*-form (an assimilation to the plural); while, in the plural and opt., the originally correct *g*-forms appear 9 times, against 3 *h*-forms (by assimilation to the singular). The present ptcp. is a secondary formation based no doubt on the plural *√aig* (cf. *mun-andan-*, *þaúrþ-andan-*, &c., above); and hence the *g* largely preponderates.

(2) The verbs *to be* and *to will*.

(i) The “substantive verb,” as it is often called, forms its present tense upon *is-*, and its pret. upon *wis-an*, “to dwell, abide,”—a verb of the *giba*-class (§ 71). The complete conjugation is :

Present tense :			Preterite :	
	Indic.	Opt.	Indic.	Opt.
Sing. 1.	<i>im, I am, &amp;c.</i>	<i>sijau (siau)</i>	<i>was, I was, &amp;c.</i>	<i>wēs̄jau</i>
2.	<i>is</i>	<i>sijais (siais)</i>	<i>wast</i>	<i>wēs̄ēis</i>
3.	<i>ist</i>	<i>sijai (siai)</i>	<i>was</i>	<i>wēs̄i</i>
Dual 1.	<i>siju (siu)</i>	<i>sijaiwa</i>	<i>wēsu</i>	<i>wēs̄eiwa</i>
2.	<i>sijuts</i>	<i>sijaits</i>	<i>wēsuts</i>	<i>wēs̄eits</i>
Plur. 1.	<i>sijum (sium)</i>	<i>sijaima (siaima)</i>	<i>wēsum</i>	<i>wēs̄eima</i>
2.	<i>sijup (siup)</i>	<i>sijaiþ (siaiþ)</i>	<i>wēsup</i>	<i>wēs̄eiþ</i>
3.	<i>sind</i>	<i>sijaina (siaina)</i> ;	<i>wēsun</i>	<i>wēs̄eina.</i>
Infin. : <i>wisan</i> ; Ptcp. pres. : <i>wisandan-</i> ; Ptcp. past : <i>wisana-</i> .				

For the imperative, the opt. forms (*sijais*, &c.) are used.

The present tense is noticeable as the only instance in which the *m* of the prim. 1 p. s. suffix *-mi* appears in Gothic (cf. Skt. *ás-mi*, Grk. *εἰ-μι* for \**ἔσ-μι*, Lat. *sum* for \**es-'m* = \**es-mi*, Engl., with irregular vowel, *am*). The Teut. plur. may have been either of the form \**izum*, \**izuð*, \**izun* (cf. Grk. *ἐσμέν*, Lat. *estis*, O.N. *erum*, *eruþ*, *erun*, A-S. (e)*arun*, &c.); or of the form \**sum*, \**suþ*, *sind* (cf. Skt. *smás*, Lat. *sumus*, Go. \**sjum*, *sium* or *sjum*; &c.)<sup>s</sup>. The *j* of the indic. spread thither from the optative, where it is historically correct (Go. *sjau* for \**sjau* = Skt. *sjām*, &c.; see § 78 (3)): the *i* is an incretion, assisted perhaps by the 3 p. pl. *sind*. Of the forms with *j* and those without it the former occur by far the most frequently.

(ii) *Wiljan*, "to will," offers much matter for discussion. The remarkable facts are, that the whole paradigm, the new weak pret. as well as the present tense, is based on a  $\sqrt{\text{wil}}$ , and that the suffixes of the present are those of the pret. optative,—this formal opt. being used as indicative; thus:

*Present*:—Sing. 1. *wiljau*, 2. *wileis*, 3. *wili*;

Dual 1. \**wileiwa*, 2. *wileits*;

Plur. 1. *wileima*, 2. *wileiþ*, 3. *wileina*.

*Pret. Indic.*: S. 1, 3. *wilda*, 2. *wildēs*; Pl. 1, *wildēdum*, &c., &c.

*Pret. Opt.*: S. 1. *wildēdjau*, 2. *wildēdeis*, &c., &c.

*Inf.*: *wiljan*; *Ptcp. pres.*: *wiljandan*.<sup>o</sup>

(3) Verbs with irregular or contracted preterites.

(i) *Gangan*, "to go," should apparently have belonged to the *falþa* class (§ 77 (4)). Its present-tense forms, as well as those of its numerous compounds, follow the pattern of the other strong verbs: its reduplicating perfect, however, has disappeared from Gothic, but is certified by the O.H.G. *giane* (for \**gēgang*), and the rare A-S. *geong*. In one place in Ulfilas a new weak preterite, *gangida* (= A-S. *gengde*) occurs, implying a present-stem \**gangja-* of the first weak conjuga-

<sup>s</sup> J. Schmidt gives the latter (KZ. XXV 592+), Osthoff the former (M.U. IV. *Vorwort*); but O.'s hypothesis should allow of both.

<sup>u</sup> Grimm's reference of *wil-* to an *ei*-series (\**weil-*, \**wail-*, *wil-*) cuts it away from the cognate words in related languages. L. Meyer (G.S., § 389) would rank it with *man* and *skal* (See above); but this would necessitate \**wuljau*, &c. The one piece of pretty firm ground is that the present tense, as above given, is the exact Gō. equivalent of the Lat. *velim*, *velis*, *velit*, *velimus*, &c., (i. e., *wēlis*, *wēlimus*, &c.). J. Schmidt (Voc. II. 468) would make them both aorists; but F. Kluge (PBB. VIII. 515+) suggests that *wel* (*wil*) is = I-E.  $\sqrt{\text{ghwel}}$  = Grk. *θελ-*, = Skt. *har-yā-mi*,—a *ja*-verb: this would at any rate account for the 1 p. s. *wiljau*; but the suggestion requires thinking about.

tion; everywhere else the pret. attached to *gangan* consists of the following remarkable forms:—

*Indic.* S. 1, 3. *iddja*, 2. *\*iddjēs*;—Pl. 1. *iddjēdum*, 2. *iddjēduḥ*, 3. *iddjēdun*;—*Opt.*: S. 1. *iddjēdjan*, 2. *iddjēdeis*; &c., &c.

In these forms *dd* is an accretion (§ 29 (2. viii); and the *\*ija*, &c., (=A-S. *eo* in *eo-de*, &c.) got by eliminating the *dd*, are probably an ancient aorist=Skt. *āyām*, *āyās*, &c.

(ii) *Bringan*, “to bring, lead,” was originally a verb of the *binda* class (§ 73). It remained so as regards the present tense: but the strong pret. was entirely lost at a remote date, and in place of it we find in Go. the forms *brāhta*, *brāhtēs*, *brāhtēdum*, &c., i. e., *\*branh-ta*, *\*branh-tēs*, &c. (§ 26 (2)). These imply a present-tense stem *\*brangja-*, which actually appears in the O.S. *brenġian*, and the O. Northumbrian *brengean*.

(iii) Here may be grouped a small number of verbs which have similar *t*-preterites, and which show weak *ja*-stems in their present tenses; these are:

Present.	Pret. sing.	Pret. plur.	Ptcp. stem.
<i>bugja</i> , <i>I buy</i>	<i>baúhta</i>	<i>baúhtēdum</i>	<i>baúhta-</i> ;
<i>brūkja</i> , <i>I use</i>	<i>brūhta</i>	<i>brūhtēdum</i>	<i>*brūhta-</i> ;
<i>þankja</i> , <i>I think</i>	<i>pāhta</i> <sup>11</sup>	<i>pāhtēdum</i>	<i>pāhta</i> - <sup>11</sup> ;
<i>þunkjan</i> , <i>to seem</i> <sup>12</sup>	<i>pūhta</i> <sup>13</sup>		<i>pūhta</i> - <sup>11</sup> ;
<i>waúrkja</i> , <i>I work</i>	<i>waúrhta</i>	<i>waúrhtēdum</i>	<i>waúrhta-</i> ;
<i>kaupatja</i> , <i>I buffet, cuff</i>	<i>kaupasta</i>	<i>kaupastēdum</i>	<i>kaupatida-</i> .

The last of these is noteworthy as showing a compressed pret. beside an extended ptcp. Of the others the pret. suffix is attached directly to the radical syllable; and the present-tense *ja*-stems are based on root-forms of old ablaut verbs: *þank-* and *þunk-*, for example, appear to be the radicals of the pret. sing. & plur. of a lost present *\*þinkan*, and *waúrk-*, the radical of the pret. plur. of a lost *\*waírkan*, ( $\sqrt{\text{werk}}$ =Grk. *φέρω*). *Brūk-ja* is = the Lat. *frū-or* for *\*frūg-or* (but *ū* in *frūg-*, “fruit”). The equivalence, *þankja*=O.Lat. *tongeo*, suggests that this wk. pres. may have dated from European times. *Bug-ja* shows the weak root of a verb of the *biuga*-series (§ 75), whose parts must have been the same as those of *biugan* itself.

<sup>10</sup> Kluge, as cited in §§ 28, 29. See also § 81 below.

<sup>11</sup> For *\*panhta* (§ 26 (2)).

<sup>12</sup> Generally impersonal: the 3 p. s. pres. *þunkeið mis* is our “me-thinks.”

<sup>13</sup> For *\*þunkhta* (§ 26 (13, ii)).

<sup>14</sup> *pāhta-* and *pūhta-* occur only as factors of compound adjectives.

81. *The Weak Preterite*<sup>1</sup>.

(1, i) This formation, while one of the most striking, is also one of the most perplexing, features of Teutonic Morphology; and hence of late years it has been one of the most vigorously discussed. The points in debate fall under two main questions, viz., whether this pret. is a *compound*, or whether it is an *inflexion*. The latter question is a comparatively modern one; formerly, the composition-theory, as it may be called, was universally accepted, and opinions differed only with reference to the nature and origin of the two components. This theory was first suggested, for the Gothic plural, &c., by Bopp (Conj. Syst.), but was extended by Grimm to the Gothic singular and to the whole pret. in the other Teut. dialects. According to Grimm the first factor or component was the verb-stem as it appears in the present tense or nearly so (*nasi-* for *nasja-*, *habai-*, *salbō-*), and the second a verb *\*dida*, to which he assigns a pf. sing. *\*dada*, plur. *\*dēdum*, &c. But the vb. *dida* with pret. plur. *dēdum* would have been of the *giba*-series (§ 71), and its pret. (pf.) in Gothic would have been—

*Indic.*: S. 1, 3. *daþ* (not *dada*), 2. *dast*; Dual 1. *dēdu*, 2. *dēduts*; Pl. 1. *dēdum*, 2. *dēduþ*, 3. *dēdun*;—*Opt.*: S. 1. *dēdjau*, 2. *dēdeis*; &c. &c.

This *dida* implies a prim.  $\sqrt{dhedh}$ , and is = Skt. *dadh-* (given by the grammarians), a duplicated byform of *dhē* =  $\theta\eta$  (Go. *\*daian*, “do,” § 26 (3, i)) and with the same meaning; and independent pret. forms exactly answering to the *\*dēdum*, &c., just given, actually appear in other O.Teut. dialects (See (3, i) below) mixed up with tense-forms of the simple verb *do*. The former existence of *\*dida*, *\*daþ*, may therefore be assumed for the Gothic; and it will be seen at once that the 13 *dēd*-forms of its pret. as above are identical with the corresponding factors of the Gothic weak pret.; which identity offers a

<sup>1</sup> The sketch in this section refers mainly to the representative opinions to be found in: Grimm, D.G., I. 956+ (ed. Scherer), and Gesch., chap. xxxiv.; Bopp, V.G., §§ 619+; Conjugations-System, 151+, Vocalismus, 58+;—Pott, Etym. Forsch. (2nd ed.), II. i. 478;—Schleicher, Comp. (3rd ed.), § 307;—Leo Meyer, G.S., §§ 109, 139;—Scherer, zur Gesch. (2nd ed.), 318–323;—Förstemann, Gesch., I. 582;—Max Müller, Lectures, I. 270;—Bugge, in KZ. XXIII. 523;—Begemann, Das Schwache Praeteritum, and Die Bedeutung des Schw. Praet.;—Amelung in Haupt's ZS. XXI.;—Windisch, Das Irische *t*-praet. in Kuhn and Schleicher's Beitr. VIII. 442–469;—F. Kluge, Q.F. XXXII. 103–123, and PBB. IX. 153+;—Paul, PBB. VII. 136–152;—Möller, in Kölbing's Englische Studien, III. 158–163, and in PBB. VII. 457–481;—Kögel, PBB. IX. 520+;—Sievers, PBB. IX. 561+.

very strong piece of evidence in favour of Grimm's hypothesis. But for the 3 singular persons the hypothesis breaks down: *\*daþ*, *\*dast*, *\*daþ* could not very well pass into *-da*, *-dēs*, *-da*; for the final consonants are such as the Gothic *loves*, and they would have been kept in their places by powerful analogies (such as *quaþ*, *quast*, *quaþ*; *baþ*, *bast*, *baþ*); and even if the final consonants had fallen away, the *ē* of *-dēs* would still be inexplicable.

(ii) Bopp (V.G.), while generally agreeing with Grimm, differed on some points of detail. He thought that, just as the present tenses of weak verbs date from primitive times, so also may certain periphrases out of which their perfects appear to have grown. In Skt. such perfects were made by collocating an abstract substantive with a pre-existing perfect of a primary verb,—as of *kar-*, “make,” or *as-* or *bhu-* “be”; and so, a vbl. subst. + *k'akāra* would mean, “I did or made (a sitting, an anointing, &c.).” On this view, the prototypes of the Go. *nasi-*, *salbō-*, &c., would have been substs.; and these would have been “governed” by an old perfect, which afterwards coalesced with them into the weak pret. as we find it. As to the form of this second and governing factor Bopp agreed with Grimm as regards the Gothic plural endings *-dēdum*, *-dēduþ*, &c.; but for the singular he assumed a reduplicated perfect = prim. *\*dadhá* (for *\*dhadhā*) to which Holtzmann, L. Meyer, and Schleicher<sup>2</sup> gave a Gothic form *\*dida*; and this, in composition, is supposed to have lost its first or redupl. syll. Schleicher, however, with Pott, Max Müller, Förstemann, and others, would extend this reduplicated perfect throughout the dual, plural, and optative; but the forms they assign to the said perfect can hardly be the correct ones. For the verb “do,” if extant in Gothic, would have been an *ē*-verb of the *saia* series (§ 25 above); and its perfect, as Begemann and others have shown, would have been—

*Indic.* : S. 1, 3. *daídō*, 2. *daídōst*; Plur. *daídōum*, &c.;—  
*Opt.* *daídōjau*, *daídōeis*; &c.;

and apart from phonetic anarchy there appears to be no way of reducing either this series of forms to the *-da*, *-dēs*, *-dēdum*, &c., of the Gothic, or an equivalent non-Gothic series to the corresponding endings of the related dialects.

(iii) These hypotheses offer four possible constructions of the weak pret.,—the combination, to wit, of either the present-tense stem or of a verbal substantive with either the ablaut perfect of *\*didan* or the redupl. pf. of “do” (Go.

<sup>2</sup> These scholars agree with Grimm as to the first component.

\**daian*); and one or another of these combinations is adopted by all the leading Teutonic Grammarians of the older school (besides those mentioned in Note <sup>1</sup>),—as Holtzmann, v. d. Gabelentz, Heyne, Grein, Koch. Before glancing at other hypotheses we may notice the attempt of Amelung to modify and work out in detail Bopp's idea of the first component. In the pret. of intransitive *ja*-verbs A. assumed, for that component, a *ja*-subst., and in the pret. of transitives, a *ja*-adj.: Go. *andwaurdida*, "I answered," would thus be = \**andwaurdi* (neut. accus., stem \**andwaurdja*-<sup>3</sup>) + *da*, and would mean, "answer I made"; and (*ana*-)*niwida*, "I renewed," would be = *niwi* (A. n. of *niuja*-) + *da*, and would mean, "new I made." There is an apparent aptness in this treatment so long as noun-stems can be found which are of the same form as the given verb-stems; but (not to mention other objections) to carry it through, A. is driven to invent noun-forms that never existed or which were needless duplicates of others that did exist.

(iv) A most important contribution to the discussion in hand was the pregnant suggestion of Scherer<sup>4</sup> that the second factor of the normal weak pret. was originally a simple aorist. We have already met with one such aorist (at least for the singular) in § 80 (3, i), viz.: \**ija*, \**ijēs*, \**ija* = Skt. *ájām*, *ájās*, *ájāt*<sup>5</sup> = O. Teut. \**ējō(m)*, \**ējēz*, \**ējē(d)*, I.-E. √*i*, *ja*, "go"; and similarly, to the Skt. aor. *ádhām*, *ádhās*, *ádhāt* (Grk. \**ἔθην*, \**ἔθης*, \**ἔθη*) should answer O. Teut. \**ēdō(m)*, \**ēdēz*, \**ēdē(d)*<sup>6</sup> = Go. \**ida*, \**idēs*, \**ida*, where, as in *ija*, the initial *i*- (which Scherer discards) may be the Gothic equivalent of the primitive augment. Taking up Scherer's suggestion Kluge tried to carry out, on a more satisfactory plan, the attempt of Amelung referred to in (iii) above. For the first factor he confined himself in every instance to real noun-forms; and his results come to this: that singular preterites, like *fullida*, "I filled," *þragida*, "I ran," are to be divided *full-ida*, *þrag-ida*, &c. = Teut. *follam édōm*, *þragam' édōm*, i. e., "full I made," "a run I did," &c.; whence \**foll'édō(m)*, \**follēdō*,

<sup>3</sup> But the Gothic subst. is, N. & A. s., *andawaurdi*. (See § 85(4).)

<sup>4</sup> Originally promulgated in the 1st ed. of "zur Gesch."

<sup>5</sup> This particular aor. is identical in form with the imperf.: these two tenses originally had the same endings, although the root-syllables generally differed (cf. *ἔφενον*, -ες, -ε, and *ἔφυνον*, -ες, -ε, &c.). With *ájām*, &c., cf. (as to endings) Lat. *eram*, *erās*, *erat* (for \**es-ām*, -ās, -āt).

<sup>6</sup> In the matter of suffix-vowels (-ōm, -ēz, -ēd) I follow Sievers, although the Grk. suggests 1 p. s. -ēm. Kluge writes *édōm*, *édōz*, &c., on the basis of the *ō*-forms of the non-Gothic dialects.

<sup>7</sup> Once probably existing in Teutonic, although nowhere extant: cf. Grk. *τροχον*.



*fullida*,—\**prag'édō(m)*, \**pragedō*, *pragida*, &c. But although K's treatment removes some of the objections to Amelung's, it is itself not free from others, especially with reference to the suppression of the stem- and case-endings of the subst. and adjs., which must at first have presented all varieties of gender and number. As, however, K. does not lay much stress on his hypothesis (indeed, he seems afterwards to be rather in favour of a *t*-suffix), it need not here be discussed (But see (3, ii) below): still, it has been useful in drawing fresh attention to the weak-pret. forms, and in accelerating the growth of the opinion that, apart from the Gothic *dēd*-forms, the Teut. pret. suffixes are of aoristic origin.

(v) Here, and lastly under this head, may be mentioned the view of Dr. S. Bugge (originally stated in the "Tidskrift for Philologie, &c.," in 1867), that the first factor of the wk. pret. was got from the past ptcp.; so that, *e. g.*, Go. *tamida*, "I tamed," would be for *tamid'da*=*tamida*+*da*, "I made tame." This, however, seems to assume much too late a date for the combination: what he should have contemplated was the fusion of a European *domito*- with a *dh*-suffix; in which case the clashing of the dentals would have led to *st* or *ss*; and indeed one or the other of the same clusters ought (by the hypothesis) to have arisen within the Teutonic itself in the case of some of the preterites of the mixed verbs (§ 80); as in the supposed *mahta*+*da*, *pāhta*+*da* (cf. *wissa*, *kaupasta*, *gamō-stēdun*)<sup>8</sup>.

(2, i) Passing to those hypotheses which treat the wk. pret. as an inflexion, we notice first the very forcible attack upon the composition-theory made by W. Begemann in 1873. On his view the base of the wk. pret. (*tamid-a*, *-ēs*, &c.) was the bare stem of the past ptcp. itself (*tamid-*),—or, at any rate, the two were of identical origin; and to this base the suffixes, *-a*, *-ēs*, &c., (whatever their original form may have been,) were directly attached. He supports his view by many apposite analogies; and although his constructive powers are not equal to overcoming the difficulties of the case, (he cannot, *e. g.*, give a very satisfactory account of his suffixes,) yet his keen criticisms laid bare the weak places of the older theory and compelled philologists to reconsider the whole question<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> In B.'s own example, *tawiþa*+*da* ("done"+"did"="I caused (to be) done"), the *þ+d* might again be expected to lead on to *þt* and *st* or *ss*. We have seen, however, that, by Verner's law, *d* must be put for *þ* in the later Teut. form of the ptepl. stem: hence my substitution in the text above, which is to the advantage of B.'s view.

<sup>9</sup> Bopp had long previously hinted at the possible derivation of the pret. *sing.* directly from the ptepl.

(ii) But a new turn was given to the discussion by Windisch, who suggested that certain preterites of the mixed verbs (§ 80) are, like the Old Irish *t*-preterites, based on ancient imperfect stems answering to the Grk. κλεπ-τ-, τυπ-τ-, or the Lat. *nec-t-*, *flec-t-*. It may be an objection that this "determinative" *t* properly belongs to the present as well as the past tense; so that we should have to assume either that these verbs once had *t*-presents alongside their old simple presents (\**brūhta*, say, beside \**brūk-a* (*bruk-ja*), = Lat., as it were, \**fructo(r)* beside *fruor*), which afterwards vanished; or else that the *t* spread by assimilation from *t*-forms of other verbs, which themselves, or at least their preterites, thereafter disappeared. For the O.Ir. Windisch has discovered some such old *t*-presents, but shunted into futures<sup>10</sup>.

(iii) Nevertheless the suggestion has been a fruitful one. It was at once accepted by Scherer to the extent proposed by W.; while by some other scholars it has been, with certain modifications, applied over a much wider area,—in fact, preferentially to the whole of the Teut. weak-verb system. The representative treatises on this view of the subject are perhaps those of Möller. He agrees that the final vowels (Go. -*a*, -*ēs*, -*a*) are those of the prim. aor. or impf., but maintains that the *d* is adventitious, and started from some ancient presents in *t* (= Go. þ, as in *falþ-an*),—just as Brugman (M.U. I. 71), taking up a hint of Schleicher's, derives the *θ* of the Grk. *θην*-aorist from the present-tense stem of verbs showing that aspirate (as, σ*χ*έ-*θ*-ω, aor. ἐσ*χ*έ-*θ*-ην). To get the Teut. *d* from prim. *t* we must, by Verner's law, suppose that the normal weak pret. was originally accented either on the root or the suffix,—or possibly, with Sievers, that the accent shifted from root to suffix, and reversely, in the successive persons (as, 1 p. s. \**támidō*, 2. \**tamidēs*, 3. —*dē*, 1 p. pl. *tamidōm*, &c.). Möller indeed admits (especially in consideration of the similar formations in Grk. and Lith.) that the suffix of the *normal* wk. pret. may have got its *d* from prim. *dh* (and not *t*); but this also he tries to trace, not to a separate verb, but to present-tenses with a *dh-* (=Teut. *d-*) base.

(3, i) Undecisive as are the hypotheses above referred to, yet the theory of the weak pret. no longer stands exactly as Grimm and Bopp and their immediate successors left it.

<sup>10</sup> Several Gothic wk. vbs. show bases in *ht*, *ft*, but they come from noun-bases ending in the same cluster; as: *ga-raiht-jan*, "to guide, direct," from adj. *raiht-a* = Lat. *rect-o-*; *haft-jan*, "cleave to," from adj. or ptep. *haft-a*, "possessed with or of," = Lat. *capt-o-*.

One point, at any rate, may be considered as established, viz., that the *-a*, *-ēs*, *-a* of the Gothic, and the corresponding vowels of the non-Gothic, singular are those of the old simple aorist (or of the imperf., which were once the same; see Note <sup>5</sup>); and that in the non-Gothic dialects the endings of the same tense are continued, with sundry modifications, from the sing. to and throughout the plural<sup>11</sup>. As to the *d*, however, of the normal weak pret., the view which treats it as merely adventitious is by no means to be accepted without demur. Especially is the attempt to account for the Gothic plur. and opt. forms on this plan open to grave suspicion. That by a fortuitous concurrence of such *d*'s with an unexplained *ē* the Go. should have reached a series of forms (*-dēdum*, &c.) absolutely identical with forms of the independent pret. of "do" in O.S. (plur. *dādun*) and O.H.G. (plur. 1. *tātum*(*ēs*), 2. *tātut*, 3. *tātun*, + an opt. based on *tāt*- throughout), would clearly be so startling a coincidence that, to minimize the effect, Möller himself is obliged to have recourse to the assimilative influence of the lost Gothic pret. *\*dēdum*, &c. It is a question whether composition pure and simple is not a preferable hypothesis; and if it be so here, one need hardly contest it in the case of the Go. singular, or of the whole of the non-Gothic preterite.

(ii) One circumstance referred to by Möller is at least as favourable to the composition-theory as to his own, viz., that *-da*, &c., of the pret. were sometimes (let us provisionally say always) attached directly to the bare stem (*i. e.*, the stem without *-ja*) of the present tense, and not superadded upon *-ja*. This bare stem is, in the case of denominative verbs<sup>12</sup>, a noun-stem with or without a stem-vowel; so that, assuming the above circumstance to be generally true, we here come into contact with the hypotheses referred to in (1, iii & iv) above, and the way is smoothed for the use of the aorist *\*ēdōm* (*-ida*), &c., for the second factor, as Kluge proposed (pres. *laus-jan*, pret. *laus-ida*; pres. *salbō-n* for *\*salbō-jan*, pret. *salbō-da* for *\*salbō-ida*; pres. *ḡaha-n* for *\*ḡahē-jan*? pret. *ḡaha-ida*, with *a* for *ē* before *i*, as in *saian*, § 25 (1, iii)). Causatives (*e. g.*, O.Teut. *\*naz-é-ja*), on this view, have been assimilated to other *ja*-vbs. in the pret., just as in the present

<sup>11</sup> O.H.G.: sing. 1, 3. *neri-t-a*, 2. *neri-t-ōs*; plur. 1. *neri-t-un*, 2. *neri-t-ut*, 3. *neri-t-un*; (*neri*=Go. *nasi*- in *nasi-da*, "I saved";)

O.S.: sing. 1, 3. *neri-d-a*, 2. *neri-d-os*; plur. *neri-d-un*;

A-S.: sing. 1, 3. *nere-d-e*, 2. *nere-d-es(t)*; plur. *nere-d-on*.

With these dialects even O.N. agrees (but with syncope); thus, of *temja* =Go. *tamjan*, "to tame," the pret. is: sing. 1. *tam-d-a*, 2. *tam-d-ir*, 3. *tam-d-i*; plur. 1. *tōm-d-un*, 2. *tōm-d-uš*, 3. *tōm-d-u*: (*-ir*, *-i*=Go. *-ēs*, *-ē*).

<sup>12</sup> For the varieties of the weak verb see § 43 (2).

(Go. *nasja*, &c.) ; but in the Go. plur. &c. of causatives the connecting *-i-* might stand for the distinctive *-é-* ; while for other *ja*-vbs. we should have to assume assimilation to the causatives and to all singulars, in respect of this *i* (*laus-i-dēdum*, &c.).

(iii) The mixed verbs (§ 80) are of course the mainstay of Begemann, Windisch, and Möller ; and certainly, if the preterites of those vbs. are to be treated as evolved by strict phonetic rule, independently of any modifying influence, the composition-theory breaks down for some of them. But possibly they *have* been affected by some such influence. Let us hear what is to be said on the subject. And, firstly, the initial component of the normal weak pret., including the attached vowel, whencesoever derived, was no doubt ultimately felt, in the popular Teutonic mind, to be identical with the present-tense *verb-stem* (*salbō-da*, *habai-da*, and *nasi-da*,—in which last the *i* would be taken for the very familiar variation of *j*) ; and to this stem, *-da*, *-dēs*, &c., would then seem to be attached by way of mere suffix. When therefore (by the hypothesis) certain old strong preterites assumed in Teutonic times the value of presents, these suffixes, *-da*, *-dēs*, &c., would instinctively be added to the new present in each instance (or one form of it), in order to arrive at a new pret. ; e.g., *skul-*, *skul-da* ; *wil-*, *wil-da* ; *mun-*, *mun-da* ; *kunn-*, pret. *kunþa* for *kun-da* (see Note <sup>10</sup>) : in which group of preterites it is immaterial, phonetically, whether the second factor, at the time of combination, showed the later Teut. *d* or the prim. *dh*. Further, the *d* (*dh*) would become *t* by the action of the final root-consonant in *ga-daúrs-ta*, and perhaps in *aih-ta* (= *\*aik-dha* or *\*aih-da* ?), and in *þaúrf-ta* (= *\*trp-dha* or *\*þorf-da* ?). But of the vbs. with roots ending in *t* and *k* (=prim. *d* and *g*), the pret. clusters *ss* (or *st*) and *ht* can hardly be derived phonetically from the later Teut. values of the clashing consonants (*t + d = tt* and *k + d = kt*<sup>13</sup>), and certainly not from the older values (*d + dh* and *g + dh*),—i. e., *wissa* cannot be got from *\*wid-dha* ; *brūhta* from *brug-dha* ; &c. The difficulty is still more apparent in verbs with roots in *-g* ; for the phonetic evolution, e.g., of *mahta*, whether from *\*mag-da* or *\*magh-dha*, is out of the question. In the case of this and of the preceding group of verbs the resource of the composition-theory is, to assume assimilation of the new preterite to the old *t*-verbal or past ptep.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> That is, we have no reason to suppose that Teut. *tt*, *kt* would necessarily pass on to *st* (*ss*) and *ht*, as prim. *tt*, *kt* did.

<sup>14</sup> This was first distinctly urged, I think, by L. Meyer, G.S. § 109 : older grammarians used to teach that *ht*, *st* (*ss*), *ft*, were correct phonetic equivalents of *gd*, *td*, *bd*, &c.

(iv) In their final forms the normal Teut. wk. pret. and the *d-* (= *t-*) ptcp. (§ 33 (2, iii)) showed the same vocalism and the same consonantal skeleton (\**tamið-a*, "I tamed," \**tamið-a*, "tamed," &c.). This circumstance, exemplified in countless instances, would, it may be urged, create a general feeling that the bases of the two forms were really identical; whence would follow, in instances where the two differed, an instinctive tendency to assimilate the one to the other<sup>15</sup>. Now the *d-* and *t-*ptcps. date from the oldest known times. Of some of those belonging to the mixed verbs the equivalents exist in other old I.-E. languages; thus: *munda-*, i. e. \**mnda-* = Grk. *ματο-*, i. e. *μῆτο-*, in *αὐτο-ματο-*; \**wissa-* (not indeed preserved in Ulfilas) = Lat. *vīso-*, i. e. \**wisso-*, = \**wid-to-*; *brūhta-* = L. *fructo-*; and *mahta-* = L. *macto-*: to these therefore, and others similar, it is to be supposed that the compound prets. under discussion were ultimately assimilated. This hypothesis is reasonable and consistent and preserves the continuity of the mode of formation of the weak preterite throughout the whole series of verbs affected. The difficulties it involves are certainly not more or greater than those involved in other hypotheses,—probably (and especially in view of the Gothic *dēd-*forms) fewer and less. The present writer, at any rate, although impressed with the claims of a simple *t-*pret., is not quite prepared to surrender the composition-theory as recently modified. But possibly the ingenuity that is being applied to the whole question may yet strike out some new argument more decisively in favour of the other theory than any that has yet been adduced<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Begemann might perhaps ask why, if this feeling of identity was so strong, it might not have urged the people one very short step further, *i. e.*, to the direct assumption of the ptepl. skeleton as the base of the pret.; which would satisfy his hypothesis so far as these mixed verbs are concerned (supposing them to be comparatively late creations).

<sup>16</sup> It is impossible, of course, adequately to discuss the weak preterite without going largely into the details of the non-Gothic dialects (and much more might be said on the Gothic): I have contented myself, therefore, with clearing the ground for any reader who may desire to extend his inquiries over a wider area than the Gothic. One small point of detail I would not seem to shirk,—the formation of *kunþa*, which carries with it others of like kind. The attempts of Verner, Möller, and others, to trace the þ (for *d*) to the action of a second *n* (= older *w*?) seem to me unsuccessful. I prefer to consider the ptcp. *kunþa* as a mixed form, due to stem-gradation, *i. e.* ultimately to prim. accentuation, which would have yielded the Teut. skeletons \**kīnþ-*, \**kund-*; so that *un* comes from one and þ from another (cf. *tunþ-u-*, "tooth," *maurþ-ra-*, "murder," &c.); and I shall hold, for the present, that this ptcp. determines the form of the pret. (See also § 85 (1, ii) below.)

## (ε) PARTICLES.

Under this head are comprised *Adverbs*, *Prepositions*, *Conjunctions*, and *Interjections*. Except the last named, these are all related to inflectible words; although their parentage and mode of growth are in many instances no longer traceable.

82. *Adverbs* are generally classified according to the nature of the circumstances which attend an action or a quality, and which the adverbs indicate; such as the manner, the time, the place, the number of times, the degree, or what not. This classification is functional or logical rather than morphological, but it serves just as well here also; because it generally happens that a definite form or group of forms is assigned to each such function.

(1) Adverbs of Manner are mostly formed (i) by adding *-ba* to adj. stems; (ii) less frequently, by changing the final vowel of such stems into *ō*. Examples:

(i) *ubilaba*, "badly, ill," from *ubila-*, "evil";—*baitraba*, "bitterly," from *baitra-*, "bitter";—*sunjaba*, "truly," from *sunja-*, "true";—*analaugniba*, "secretly," from *analaugni-*, "secret";—*harduba*, "hardly, severely," from *hardu-*, "hard";—*glaggwuba*, "perfectly," from *\*glaggwu-*, "perfect." (But *hardaba* and *glaggwaba*, by assimilation to *a*-stems, also occur.)

(ii) *galeikō*, "similarly," from *galeika-*, "like";—*sinteinō*, "continually," from *sintaina-*, "continual";—*usdaudō*, "zealously," from *usdauda-*, "zealous";—*missō*, "reciprocally," "one another," from *\*missa-*, "reciprocal";—*glaggwō*, "perfectly," from *\*glaggwu-*, "perfect." So also: *aljaileikō*, "otherwise";—*sniumundō* and *sprautō*, "hastily";—and several adverbs in *-jō* (implying adjs. in *-ja*); as: *alakjō*, "all together";—*piubjō*, "furtively"<sup>1</sup>.

Of other formation are: *hwaiwa*, "how"; *swa*, "so"; *swarē*, "in-vain"; *waīla*, "well."

(2) Adverbs of Degree may be subdivided into the Indefinite (or Positive) and the Definite (or Comparative).

(i) The Indefinite indicate general intensity, and agree in form with adverbs of manner; such are: *abraba*, "greatly, very";—*hauhaba*, "highly";—*mikilaba*, "greatly";—*allandjō*, "wholly, completely";—*ussindō*, "specially."

<sup>1</sup> Osthoff, Kuhn's ZS. XXIII. 90, taking up a suggestion of Paul's in Germania XX., shows that the prototypes of these *ō*-adv. were probably old fem. sing. accusatives; cf. the Grk. *σχεδόν*, *γράβδην*, &c.; Lat. *clam*, *perperam*, &c.; while those in *-a* (*-ba*, *-na*, &c.) were old sing. ablatives.

(ii) The Definite are the old simple (or unextended) degrees of adjectives (See § 40 (4, ii)) ; as : *hauhīs*, “higher” ; —*nēhwīs*, “nearer” ; —*mais*, “more” ; —and, with loss of *i*, *mins*, “less” ; —*wairīs*, “worse” ; —to which may be added two in *-ōs*, viz. : *aljaleikōs*, “otherwise,” and *saunmundōs*, “more diligently” ; which are comparative forms corresponding to the positives *aljaleikō* and *saunmundō* given in (1, ii) above. Two superlatives also occur, viz. : *framist*, “first-of-all” ; —*maist*, “at-most” : these, in form, are the accus. neut. sing. of superl. adjs. (§ 59 (3)).

*Mais* is frequently intensified by *filu*, *filaus* (See (6) below), and *filu*, “much,” or, in questions, *hwan filu*, and *hwan filu* = “how much more” ; as : Is *filu mais* (or *und filu mais*) *hīō-pida*, “he cried out a great deal more.”

(3) Adverbs of Time may also, in meaning, be Definite (indicating a fixed point or period of time) ; as : *nu*, “now” ; *himma daga*, “to-day” ; and Indefinite (indicating duration or an unfixed period) ; as : *fram-wigis*, “evermore” ; *suman* and *simlē*, “formerly.” As to derivation, however, they may be either Simple,—as *nu*, “now” ; *ju*, “already” ; *hwan*, “when” ; *pan*, “then” ; which are, as it were, fossilized cases of old pronouns ;—or Compound (more properly, adverbial phrases),—of which the leading member is generally a case of a noun or pronoun ; as : *himma daga* (dat.), “to-day” (§ 64 (3)) ; —*gistra-dagis* (gen.), “to-morrow” ; —*du maúrgina*, “to-morrow (morning)” ; —*fram himma nu*, “henceforth” ; —*dagis hwizuh* (gen.), “day-by-day” ; —*ju-pan*, “forthwith” ; —*suns* or *suns-aiw*, “immediately” ; —*nī aiw* (acc.), “never.” *Faúrþis*, “previously,” is a comparative.

(4) Adverbs of Place involve the notions of rest in a place, or of motion to or motion from a place (*i. e.*, direction). The Gothic, like some other languages, shows triplets of related adverbs adjusted to express these three notions. One such series of triplets is derived from the simple interrogative and demonstrative pronouns ; viz. :

<i>hwar</i> , where . . . .	{ <i>hwap</i> & <i>hwadrē</i> }	, whither . .	<i>hwaprō</i> , whence ;
<i>par</i> , there . . . . .	* <i>pap</i> , thither . . . . .	<i>paprō</i> , thence ;	
<i>hēr</i> , here . . . . .	<i>hidrē</i> , hither . . . . .	_____	
<i>jainar</i> , yonder . .	{ <i>jaínd</i> & <i>jaíndrē</i> }	, thither . .	<i>jaínprō</i> , thence ;
<i>aljar</i> , elsewhere . .	<i>aljap</i> , other-whither . .	<i>aljaprō</i> , from elsewhere.	

Another such series is related to prepositions; viz.:

*iupa*, above . . . . . *iup*, up, upwards . . . *iupaþrō*, from above;  
*inna*, in, within . . *inn*, in . . . . . *innaprō*, from within;  
*ūta*, without . . . . . *ūt*, out, forth . . . . . *ūtaþrō*, from without;  
*faírra*, afar off . . . . . ——— . . . . . *faírraprō*, from afar.

The following appears to be related to the subst. *dala-* (n.), "dale, valley":—

*dalaþa*, below . . . . *dalaþ*, down . . . . . *dalaþrō*, from below.

*Allaþrō*, "from all quarters," is from the adj. *alla-*, "all."

In some adverbs the suffix *-na* has nearly or quite the same force as *-þrō*; viz.: *afta*, "behind"; *aftana*, "from behind";—*hindar* (prep.), "behind, beyond"; *hindana*, "from behind or beyond";—but *iupana* (from *iup*—See above) means "from the beginning";—*innana* is used as = *inna*, and *ūtana* as = *ūta*;—so also, *samana*, "together, at once;" but *samaþ*, "together," occurs with verbs of motion.

(5) Adverbs of Number, or, more properly, Number of Times, are Definite or Indefinite. Of the former none are simple except *afta*, "again," i. e., "once more"; the rest are phrases formed with *sinþa-* (§ 61 (3, v)); of which the extant instances are: *ainamma sinþa*, "once";—*twaim sinþam*, "twice";—*þrim sinþam*, "thrice";—*fimf sinþam*, "five times";—*sibun sinþam*, seven times. The only extant example with an ordinal is *anþaramma sinþa*, "a second time"<sup>2</sup>; but as an equivalent of \**þridjin sinþa* there occurs the phrase *þridjō þata* (neut. accus.), "the third time," which is an obvious imitation of the Grk. τρίτον τοῦτο.—Indefinite are: *ufta*, "often," and the phrase *manag mēl*, "many a time."

(6) Miscellaneous Adverbs.—The old Instrumentals *þē* and *hwē* (§§ 64 (1) & 66 (1)) are adverbial. From the latter are formed the important Interrogative Adverbs *Bi-hwē*, "whereby? how?" and *Du-hwē*, "wherefore? why?" Other advs., which are obviously cases (mostly genitives) of substs. or adjs., are: (*ni*) *allis*, "(not) at all";—*raihtis*, "indeed, truly";—*flaus*, "much, very much"; and *flu* (acc. neut.), "much, often";—*andwaírþis*, "over-against";—*landis*, "far away" (lit. "over-the-land");—*bi sunjai*, "truly, of a truth." (Compare the O.E. *needs*, *whiles*, *nights*, &c., which are old genitives.) Add the phrases: *in fulhsnja*, "secretly";—*in bairhtein*, "openly";—*bi sumata* or *bi sum ain*, "in part." (Compare our *in vain*, *on high*, &c.) But *þata andaneipō* or

<sup>2</sup> The A-S. equivalent, *sið*, O.E. *sith*, *sithe*, was used in precisely the same way: thus *Spenser* (Cal., Jan.), "a thousand *sithes*."



*puta wiþrawairþō* (acc.), "contrariwise," are imitations of the Grk. *τὸναντίον*.

(7) Under Adverbs it is usual to place the Particles of Affirmation, Negation, and Interrogation; as: *nī*, "not";—*nē*, "nay, no, not";—*ja* and *jai*, "yea." The interrogative *-u* (sometimes strengthened to *-uh*) is attached enclitically to the first word of its clause; as: *skuld-u ist . . . ?* "is it lawful . . . ?"—sometimes even to a prefix, which it separates from the root; as: *ga-u-laubjats . . .*, "do ye-two believe . . . ?" With *-u* are formed the compounds *nīu* = Lat. *nonne*, "(is) not . . .," "(shall) not . . .," &c.;—*jau*, "whether" (in indirect questions), "if," "so, so then";—and *pau*, "or" (in the second of two alternative questions; as in: *skuld-u ist . . . pau nī ?* "is it lawful . . . , or not?"), "than," "in that case." Other interrogative particles are: *an* (= Lat. *an*), which generally accompanies interrogative pronouns; as: *an hwa . . .*, "what then . . . ?" *an hwas . . . ?* "who then . . . ?"—*nuh* (= *nu + uh*), which is similarly used; as: *hwa nuh . . . ?* "what then"; (sometimes indeed *an* and *nuh* are both used; as: *an nuh is . . . ?* "and art thou then . . . ?");—and *ibai*, which, like Lat. *num*, expects a negative answer; but both *ibai*, "lest," and *nibai* = *nī + ibai*, "unless," are also conjunctions.—Some pronominal interrogatives (as, *hwar*, *hwan*, *hwaiwa*) have appeared under other heads.

83. *Prepositions* immediately precede the words they "govern"; and, in Gothic, only certain particles—viz., the enclitic *-u*, *-uh*, and conjunctions that cannot stand first in their clauses, such as *auk*, *þan*, *raihitis*—are allowed to come between the two. In origin, prepositions may be assigned to the class of pronominal (demonstrative) roots; and the very oldest of them probably consisted of a single consonant preceded or followed by a single short vowel<sup>1</sup>, or, at most, flanked by two such vowels. On this view, preps. involving two consonants are to be regarded as later compounds. Still later, and indeed special, for the most part, to the separate languages, are those derived from inflectible words; such as Lat. *circa*, Go. *alja*, Engl. *between*, *notwithstanding*; &c. For convenience, prepositions, like adverbs, may be arranged according to their functions, *i. e.*, according to the cases they govern, although these functions are not answered to by corresponding variations of form.

<sup>1</sup> See Grassmann in KZS. XXIII. 559–579. His general view is probably correct; but the details of his elaborate scheme are often of doubtful value.

(1) Prepositions governing the *Accusative*:—*and*, “along, throughout, against”;—*faúr*, “for, for (=on account of), before”;—*inuh*, “without”;—*þairh*, “through, by, by-means-of”;—*undar*, “under”;—*wipra*, “towards, against, over-against.”

(2) Prepositions governing the *Dative*:—*af*, “of, from, by, on (the right side, left side)”;—*alja*, “but, except”;—*du*, “to”;—*faúra*, “before, for, for (=on account of)”;—*fram*, “from, of, with, by, for”;—*miþ*, “with”;—*nēhwa*, “nigh-to, near”;—*us*, “out-of, from.”

(3) Prepositions governing the *Accusative* and *Dative*:—*afar*, “after, according-to”;—*ana*, “on, upon, in, into, about (=nearly)”;—*at*, “at, by, with, to”;—*bi*, “by, about, around, against, according-to”;—*hindar*, “behind, beyond, among”;—*uf*, “under, in-the-days-of”;—*ufar*, “over, above, besides, beyond”;—*und*, “until, up-to,” (and, with dat.) “for”=“in exchange or return for.”

(4) Preposition governing the *Accusative*, *Dative*, and *Genitive*:—*in* (with acc.=) “in, into, towards”; (with dat.=) “in, into, among”; (with gen.=) “on-account-of, for-the-sake-of.”

(5) Various simple prepositions may occur in Gothic, as in English, without any noun or pronoun after them: they are then really adverbs of place or direction; as: *jah biþragjands faúr* . . . , “and running-on before . . . .” On the other hand, some derived adverbs in *-ō* and *-ana*, also denoting place or direction, may take a case (nearly always the *gen.*) of a noun or pronoun after them,—that is, may become prepositions: such are: *hindana*, “beyond”;—*innana*, “within”;—*ufarō*, “over, above”;—and *utana*, “without, outside”: *ufarō* governs the *dative* also. The phrase *in andwaírþja* (+ *gen.*), lit. “in-the-presence- (of),” is frequently used as a *prep.*=“before.”

84. *Conjunctions*, like prepositions, are mostly traceable to pronominal elements either alone or in combination: the reader will easily recognize many such among the following words. *Conjunctions* (grouping them also functionally) may be:

(1) *Copulative*:—*jah*, “and, also”;—*uh* (enclitic), “and, also”;—*jah . . . jah . . .*, “both . . . and . . .”;—*ni þatainei . . . ak jah . . .*, “not only . . . but also . . . .”

(2) *Disjunctive or Distributive*:—*aíþþau*, “or, or otherwise”;—*eiþau*, “or else”;—*andizuh . . . aíþþau . . .*, “either

... or ...";—*jəppē* ... *jəppē* ..., "whether ... or whether ...";—*nī* (or *nih*) ... *nī* (or *nih*) ..., "neither ... nor ..."

(3) Adversative:—*ak*, *akei*, "but";—*ip*, *pan*, *əppan*, "but, however."

(4) Final:—*ei*, "that";—*dupē*, *duppē ei*, and *du pamma ei*, "to-the-end-that";—(*nī*) *pēei*, " (not) that ";—*ibai*, "lest (=that ... not)";—*swaei*, *swaswē*, *swē*, "so-that."

(5) Concluding:—*nu*, *nuh*, *pannu*, *panuh*, *əpan*, *dupē* or *duppē*, are all (in most instances, but not always)="therefore";—with a negative imperative, *nunu* occurs; as: *nī nunu ōgeip*, "fear ye not therefore."

(6) Concessive:—*pau*, "in-that-case";—*pañjabai*, "even-though";—*swēpauh*, "indeed."

(7) Causal:—*auk*, *allis*, *rahtis*, "for";—*untē*, *dupē ei*, "because";—(*nī*) *pēei*, " (not) because ";—*pañdē*, "inasmuch-as."

(8) Conditional:—*jabai*, (and rarely) *pañdē* and *ip*, "if";—*nibai*, *niba*, "unless (=if ... not)."

(9) Temporal:—*bipē*, "when, as";—*pan*, "when";—*miṣṣaneī*, "while";—*pañdē*, "while, as-long-as";—*sunsei*, "as-soon-as";—*faūrṣizeī*, "before-that";—*untē*, *und pātei*, "until."—Add the phrases: *swa langa hweilu swē*, "as long as";—*und pata hweilōs pēi*, "as long as" (*lit.* "up-to that-point of-time that");—and *swa ufta swē*, "as often as."

(10) Local:—*parei*, "where"; *pādei*, "where, whither";—*piṣhwaduh pādei* or *pēi*, "whithersoever";—*piṣhwaruh pēi*, "wheresoever." (Compare the Indef. Pronouns, § 68 (2).)

(11) Comparative:—*pau*, "than"; *swē* ... *swaswē* ... , "as ... so ... ";—*swē* (or *swaswē*) ... *swa* (or *swah*, or *swa jah*), "as ... so also ... "

(12) Pronominal:—*ei*, *pātei* (*pammei*), *pēi*, (and rarely) *untē*, ="that," when introducing substantival clauses (Syntax, § 103 (xv), 108 (vi), *et alibi*).

Frequently two conjunctions of nearly the same force are used together; as: *bipēh pan*, "when, after-that";—*auk rahtis* or *auk allis*, "for indeed";—*pannu nuh*, "therefore":—and especially the enclitic *-uh* (*-up*) with *pan*; as: *was-up-pan*, "and he was."

84\*. *Interjections*. These are few: the words only so used are but three, viz.: *ō*, "O!"—*sai*, "lo!"—*wai*, "woe!" But other parts of speech may be used interjectionally; as: *waṭṭa*, "well then!" and *jai*, "yea, O!" Add the three old imperatives, 2 p. s. *hiri*, 2 p. du. *hirjats*, 2 p. pl. *hirjiṣ*,

"Come!" and the clause, *Nis sijai*, "God forbid!" (*lit.*, "be it not so.")—*Wainei* introduces an exclamatory and optative clause,—“would that . . . ,” or “would to God that . . . .”

85. *Accentuation*.—As we have now had before us all the forms that Gothic words can assume, this may be a suitable place for a few paragraphs on Accentuation<sup>1</sup>.

(1, i) The central feature of every I-E. system of Accentuation is the primary or acute accent. This, in different languages, may differ both in nature and in position. In the primitive speech the acute was probably more musical in quality (or more dependent on “pitch”) and less dependent on emphasis or force than in the Teutonic dialects; while, as to position, it was free or movable,—*i. e.*, it might rest either on the root, or on a derivative suffix, or on a case- or a person-ending even in the different inflexional forms of the same word. This freedom persisted in Teutonic down to a comparatively late date (§§ 30, 31); and its effects both on vowels and on consonants are visible to this day.

(ii) But sometimes a vowel indicates an accentuation at variance with that indicated by a neighbouring consonant. Thus, in Go. *wulfa-*, *ul = l* implies accentuation of the suffix, while *f* (= *hw*, § 34 (2)) implies accentuation of the root. In this instance the discrepancy dates from prim. times, and may be explained by assuming, with Möller, an early prim. N. s. *\*wérqos*, but G. s. *wrǵés-jo*; &c.: the weak root must then be supposed to have spread from the oblique to the direct cases, without, however, displacing the acute, which in these latter cases rested on the root<sup>2</sup>.

(iii) But before the dispersion of the Teutonic tribes the primary accent had ceased to be movable; and in *all* forms

<sup>1</sup> See Lachmann, *Kleinere Schriften*, I. 358–406;—Holtzmann, *Gram.*, I. ii. 30–55;—Sievers in *PBB.* IV. 522–539 and V. 63–163;—Paul in VI. 10–12 and 124–178, and M.H.D. *Gram.* 6–9;—Scherer, *Zur Gesch.*, 75–89, cap. v. *passim*, and *Anhang* iii. (embodying Heintzel's strictures on Sievers). On the accentuation of compounds see (besides the foregoing) Grimm, *D.G.*, I. 17–20 (ed. Scherer);—Kluge, *PBB.* VI. 393–399, and *KZ.* XXVI. 68–81, 328;—Schmidt, *KZ.* XXVI. 20–42. On the relation of the O.Teut. to the prim. accentuation see Verner, *KZ.* XXIII. 97–130;—Kluge, *QF.* XXXII. *passim*, and *KZ.* XXVI. 92–103;—Paul in *Beitr.* VI. 538–554;—Noreen in VII. 431–444;—Möller in VII. 482–547;—Kremer in VIII. 371–460.

<sup>2</sup> See similar instances in § 40 (6, iv, v, vi) and Note <sup>16</sup> to § 81 above. Others (collected by Noreen and Kluge) show dialectic variations which must have arisen in Teut. times (*e. g.*, Go. *blōpa-* by W.Teut. *blōda-*, “blood”; or Go. *hūhru-* by W.T. *hungr(u)-*, “hunger”).

of simple (*i. e.* uncompounded) words it had settled upon the radical syllable (see § 30, Note <sup>5</sup>, and § 31 (1)). The natural correlative to this elevation of the root was the depression and weakening of such of the subsidiary syllables as became quite unaccented, especially many of the finals (§ 35 (2)). Intermediate in power, however, to the primary accent and the absence of accent, stood a secondary accent, which still, although in a less degree than the primary, tended to preserve the vowel or syllable upon which it rested.

(2, i) If now we had to deal only with the primary accent in simple words, our task would be easy. But there are many gradations of accent; there are many varieties of compound words; and the relative accentuation of words in continuous speech is continually shifting. As to the first point, the variations of accent are generally ranged in three grades,—the primary or acute (marked by ´), the secondary or grave (˘), and the unaccented or weak; or, as we may call them, the higher, middle, and lower grades; but in a long series of words all the higher grades are not equally acute, nor all the middle grades equally grave, nor all the lower grades equally weak. In the case of simple words standing alone, however, the possible gradations are very few; and the main problem is, where to place the middle grade or grades; for then (the place of the acute being known) the weak syllable or syllables are also known. In the case of isolated disyllables the accentuation of the final is indifferent; but if they be embodied in a sentence the final will take the grave or be weak according as the initial syllable of the next word is weak or not: such final may also take the grave before a pause. (See (5) below.)

(ii) For tri- and poly-syllables the problem is more difficult; and various attempts have been made to lay down a rule for settling the place of the grave. Thus Lachmann, from the scansion of O.H.G. verse, concluded that when the radical syllable was long, the next syllable bore the grave; but when short, the next but one; and Holtzmann, Scherer, and others have accepted this rule as valid for the Teutonic, notwithstanding the contradictory evidence of the dialects. Sievers, however, entirely rejected it, and, in his powerful articles, laid down the rule that the place of the grave was on the final,—a rule which still leaves certain important instances unexplained. Wider than these rules is Paul's theory of a movable secondary accent for the Teut.: in nouns (the verb requires special treatment; see (3, iv) below) this accent is supposed to have normally rested on the derivative suffix (when there was one) in the direct cases (N. & A. s. & pl.), but

in the oblique cases on the endings. With this theory, with the (perhaps disputable) postulate that no two successive syllables can have precisely the same accentuation (See Note<sup>3</sup>), and with the assumption of form-leveling in various directions, he may be considered to have solved the problem.

(3, i) The Gothic dialect has no history (§ 12) : the discussion of its accent-system is therefore involved in many difficulties; nor has any of the scholars yet mentioned, except Holtzmann (and he but partially<sup>3</sup>) attempted a direct investigation into it. However, for this dialect also we must start from the fact that the primary accent rested on the radical (initial) syllable of simple words. As to the secondary, we shall, in the following remarks, keeping our eye on the non-Gothic dialects, be chiefly guided by Paul's theory, and by the vocalism of certain types of Gothic words.

(ii) For Gothic disyllables the remarks in (2, i, *ad fin.*) hold good. For many trisyllabic forms the accent-schemes are pretty certain; *e. g.* : N. A. s. n. *háubip*<sup>4</sup>, "head," for \**háubida(m)*, D. *háubida*, G. *háubidis*, D. pl. *háubidam*, G. *háubidè*; but N. A. pl. *háubida*;—N. A. s. n. *liuhap*, "light," D. *liuhada*, G. *-dis*;—N. s. m. *kátils*, "pot, (kettle)," for \**kátilaz*, D. *kátilà*, G. *-lis*, N. pl. *kátilòs* (See (5, ii) below), A. *-làns*, D. *-làn*, G. *-lè*;—N. s. m. *himins*, "heaven," *híminà*, *-nìs*, N. pl. *-nòs*, &c.;—N. s. f. *mágap*s, "maiden," D. *mágapai*, G. *-pàis*, pl. prob. *mágapèis*, &c.;—*dīupīpa*, "depth," *dīupīpai*, *-pòs*, pl. *-pòs*, *-pòm*, *-pò*;—*sdiwala*, *-aldì*, *-lòs*; &c.—Disyllabic *u*-substs. give G. pl. *súniwè*, *hándiwè*, &c.<sup>5</sup>;—*n*-substs. masc. & neut. give G. pl. *gúmanè*, *áttanè*, *háirtanè*, *áuganè*, &c.;—fem., *túngonò*, *áirzeinò*, &c.; but neut. N. A. pl. *háirtòna*, *áugòna*, &c.—The D. pl. *abnam*, *watnam*, &c. (§ 51), clearly imply \**áb(a)nəm*, \**wát(a)nəm*, &c., as Holtzmann points out; but it is doubtful whether, as H. thinks, *hanam*, *gumam*, &c., can be for \**hánàn'm*, \**gúmàn'm*, &c.: datives like \**hán'nəm*, \**mén'nəm*, and the like, may very well have led to *hánam*, &c.; and these, together with the influence of the very numerous *a*-declension datives (*wulfam*, *jukam*, &c.), may have determined the form of the current dative in the *n*-declension. Where a final long vowel persists in N. or A. s. or pl. of trisyllables it should probably bear the grave (See

<sup>3</sup> Holtzmann unfortunately died before he could return to the subject, as he proposed.

<sup>4</sup> *N.B.*—In this section refraction and vowel-quantity are not marked. The dash (') here always means the acute accent; in the case of diphthongs it is placed over the first vowel.

<sup>5</sup> See §§ 48+, when meanings are not here given.

(5, ii)); as in f. *mánagèi*, G. *mánagèius*, N. pl. *mánagèius*, but G. pl. *mánàgeinò*;—neut. *bárnìlò*, G. *bárnìlius*, N. A. pl. *bárnìlòna*, but G. *bárnìlonè*;—m. *láisariis* (*-eis*=*-īs*=*-īs*), *láisarijā*, pl. *-jòs*; but A. s. *láisàri*. Examples with long penult.: n. *witòp*, *witòdìs*, *-dà*, pl. *witòda*, *witòdìm*, *-dì*;—f. *láiiseins*, *láiseinà*, *-nàis*, pl. *-nòs*, *nòns*, *-nòm*, *-nò*;—f. *hláiwàsna*, “tomb,” *hláiwàsnaì*, *-nòs*, pl. *-nòs*, *-nòm*, *-nò*;—*fráujinàssus*, *fráujinàssau*; &c.

(iii) The strong adjective may be approached from the instructive forms,—A. s. m. (*nì*)*ainnòhun* (by *ainnòhun*), D. (*nì*)*ainummèhun* (§ 68 (5)). In these, as Holtzmann suggests, the grave was drawn to or held on the *ō* and *ē* (whence their length) by the enclitic *-hun* (cf. also *hwanòh*, *hwanummèh*, *hwarjanòh*, *hwarjammèh*, § 67; and see (5, ii) below). The interior vowel, with or without *n*, has vanished from *ain(n)òhun*, and with *m* is reduced to *um*=*ṃ* in *ainnummèhun*: its syllable therefore in each instance must have been unaccented. Now comparing with the foregoing forms the A. & D. s. of the simple adj. (§ 61 (i)) with their full interior vowel and shortened final, and comparing the N. & A. s. n. with *hwárjatòh* (§ 67 (2)), we must infer the accentuation,—*áinàna*, *áinàmma*, *áinàta*: the first and third of these agree with Paul’s theory; while, for the second, the grave must be supposed to have shifted (perhaps by assimilation to *áinànu* &c.) from the final to the penult. This was no doubt the accentuation of similar trisyllabic adj.-forms; but in the G. pl. m., n., & f., and the G. s. f., the grave certainly rested on the endings. Hence we may write: *gódàna*, *gódàta*, *gódàmma*, but *gódàizè*, *-zòs*, *-zò*;—*dwálàna*, *dwálàta*, *dwálàmma*, “foolish,” but *dwálaizè*, *-zòs*, *-zò*; &c., &c. For tetrasyllables Paul’s rules put a grave on the derivative suffix and a second grave on the ending; as: *áudags* for \**áudàgaz*, “blessed,” *áudàganà*, *áudàgatà*, *áudàgammà*, *áudàgaizè*; f. *áudàga*, *áudagàì*, *-gòs*, &c.;—*mánàganà*, *mánàgaizè*, &c.;—*míkìlanà*, *-atà*, *aizè*, &c.;—*lèitìlanà*, *-aizè*, &c.;—*máhtèiganà*, *-aizè*; &c., &c.; where the vocalism of *-ana*, *-ata*, &c., follows that of the trisyllabic forms. And here must be placed the vowel-declensions of strong- and weak-vb. pteps.; as: *gìbànanà*, *-atà*, *-ammà*, *-aizè*, &c.;—*sálbòdanà*, *-ammà*, &c.;—*fráujinòdanà*, *-ammà*; &c. Also superlatives: *fródòstanà*, *lasiwòstanà*, *sútìstanà*; &c. In weak-adj. forms (§ 58) the vocalism suggests: *blíndòna*, *blíndanè*, *blíndonò*;—*máhtèiga*, *-gan*, *máhtèigin*, *-gìns*, *máhtèigòna*, but *máhtèiganè*; f. prob. *máhtèigò*, *-gòn*, *-gòns*, but G. pl. *máhtèigonò*;—ptcp., *háus-*

<sup>6</sup> Possibly the ever-recurring fem. art. & pron. *pōs* may have contributed to the persistence of the above N. pl. ending, *-ōs*.

*jands*, "hearing," *háusjāndan*, *háusjandīn*, -*dīns*, -*dōna*, *háusjāndanē*, -*deinō*;—*þiudanōnds*, *þiudanondīns*, -*dōna*, but *þiudanōndanē*, -*deinō*;—compar., *sútīza*, *sútīzīn*, -*īns*, *sútīzanē*, &c.;—*hándugōza*, -*anē*, -*onō*, *hándugozīn*, -*īns*, -*ōns*, *ōna*;—wk. superl., *lasiwōsta*, -*anē*, *lasiwostīn*; &c. (But see (4, iii) below.)

(iv) In the present tenses of vbs. Paul puts the grave on the thematic vowel,—*násjāda*, *násjāima*, *fráujinōþ*, *fráujinōndau*; &c. In the extant reduplicating vbs. the acute probably fell on the redupl. syll. (*gáigrot*, *háihait*, i. e. *gé-*, *hé-*); and in tri- or tetra-syllabic forms the grave probably settled on the 3rd syll.—*gáigrotūm*, *gáigrotēima*; &c. In the weak preterite the grave is usually assigned to the *da-*(*dē-*)suffix throughout; but if, as is probable, the Teut. sing. was once of the form *\*nasidōm*, -*dēs*, -*dē* (§ 81 (1, iv) and (2, iii)), the state of the Gothic finals indicates the accentuation,—*násida*, *násidēs*, *násida*; *hábaida*, *hábaidēs*; *fráujinōda*, *fráujinodēs*; &c.; although, by the time of Ulfilas, the *da-*forms may have assumed the grave, by assimilation to the rest of the pret.

(4, i) For compounds formed with prefixes Lachmann established the rule, which holds for Teutonic, that in compound *verbs* so formed the verb bore the acute, but in *nouns* the prefix. A disyllabic prefix would, of course, in noun-composition, fall under the same treatment as other disyllabic initial components (§ 44 (2) above); and if once oxytone (as most of such particles were), it would preserve its full form; while in verb-composition, under a reduced accent-scheme, it became, or tended to become, monosyllabic, or, if a monosyllable, was liable to other weakenings. Such a difference of form appears in Gothic compounds with *and-* by *anda-*; as (vbs.): *andhāitan*<sup>7</sup>, "to confess"; *andnīman*, "to accept"; &c.; but (nouns): *ándahait* (n.), "a confession"; *ándanūmts* (f.), "acceptation"; &c. If *und* is a weaker form of *and* (§ 45 (2)), it also is consistent in appearing with verbs only. But, as in other dialects, so in Gothic, there was an extensive assimilation in form of the verb- and the noun-prefixes. Thus, *ana-* always shows its full form with verbs as well as nouns; but *af-* (from *\*abā*) always appears with nouns as well as verbs; while *faura* and *faur* are used indifferently with either. Still, the accent-schemes were pro-

<sup>7</sup> The infin. was originally a noun-form (§ 40 (2, vi)), but when attracted into the verb-system, a compound infin. was no doubt very early assimilated to the vb. in point of accentuation: the same is probably true of the ptcps., at least the pres. ptcp.



bably not affected (*ànafílh*, "to hand on (a custom, &c.)," but *ánafílh* (n.), "a tradition"; &c.). Holtzmann indeed conjectured, and Kluge has made probable, that in Gothic noun-compounds the acute fell (sometimes, at any rate) even on prefixes which in other dialects are unaccented,—*góguds*, "pious"; *bímait* (n.), "circumcision"; &c. The negative inseparable prefix *un-* (properly used with nouns only) perhaps always bore the acute. This would naturally lead to a modification of the accent-scheme of the conjoined word; as: A. s. *háilana*, "sound, whole," but *únháilana*; D. s. *fródamma*, "wise," but *úfródamma*; &c.

(ii) Of noun-compounds proper (§ 14 (2)) the accentuation, when the first component was monosyllabic, would be: D. s. *gúdhusa*; N. s. *láushándus*, A. *láushándjanà*; &c. But when each component was of more than one syllable their radical accents were more nearly equal: the first was still the higher of the two; but the second might also claim to belong to the higher grade. Holtzmann accordingly calls the first a "double-acute," and uses two dashes for it (""); as: N. s. adj. *hánduwàurhts*, but A. *ha"nduwáurhtanà*;—D. s. *wei"nagárdà*; G. s. *fra"pjamárzeinàis*; &c. But here again *un-* would take off the highest accent: A. s. *u"n-ha"nduwáurhtanà*, "not-made-with-hands"; adv. *u"n-a"nasíunibà*, "invisibly"; &c. In some verb-forms with double prefix the order of the two acutes is the reverse of the foregoing: *fáuràgasa"tida* (*imma*) "I placed before (him)";—*mípanaku"mbidé'dun* (*imma*), "they sat-at-meat with (him)"; &c.

(iii) In polysyllabic forms some "heavy" suffixes in Go. probably (as in other dialects) took the sub-acute; i. e., as Scherer suggests, these forms simulated composition: such perhaps were,—A. s. *ba"rizéinanà*, by N. s. *bárizèins*, "made of barley"; and also some of the forms already cited in (3, iii) above; as: compar. G. pl. *ha"ndugózanè*;—ptep. *frau"jinóndanè*;—or adv. *u"nfai"rinódabà*, "unblamably," (like *unanasiuniba*, above). The *-dē-* of polysyllabic weak prets. certainly took the lower acute,—*wei"two"didédum*, "we bore witness"; *frau"ji"nodédèina*, "they might rule"; &c.

(5, i) In continuous speech the logical importance of the successive words is continually varying, and their accent-schemes are correspondingly raised or depressed, or even altered in their proportions. Thus, before a more highly accented syllable a weak syllable may be further weakened

\* As the grave similarly varied, we may use (") for its higher grade: the variations of the weak grade must for the present be left undistinguished.

and may even disappear (cf. *pa'tist*, *kar'ist*, &c., § 35 (1)); and in this way Sievers and Paul account for the loss of the stem-vowel in the N. s. of certain declensions (e. g. : *dags ist* = \**dāgaz ist*; *mikils ist* = \**mikilaz ist*; &c.). On the contrary, before an unaccented syllable, and also in *pausá* (i. e., at the end of a phrase or clause) a syllable may take a somewhat higher accent than in other positions; as do *ut* and the final of *þata* in : *háusjándans þátà*, *uskúsun ìmma út us báurg*, "hearing thát, they cast him óut from the city."

(ii) These principles give rise to the phenomena of pro- and en-clisis. The Go. enclitics *par excellence* (*-uh*, *-u*, *-hun*) have fused with the words which they originally followed; and we have already seen, in (3, iii), examples of their influence upon a preceding syllable. It is to a similar influence that Holtzmann would attribute the persistence, contrary to the *auslautgesetz*, of the full endings in certain direct cases plural (*dag-ōs*, *-ans*, *manag-ans*, *-ōs*, &c.); although he is unable to point out any special enclitic agent which could have affected them. The proclitics most nearly answering to the coalescing enclitics are the monosyllabic prefixes of verbs (See (4, i, ii) above). But between such prefixes and their verbs the enclitics *uh* and *u* may wedge themselves in; thus : (*uf-wópjan*, "to cry out"; but) *ùb-uh-wópida*, "he cried out";—(*bi-gítan*, "to find"; but) *bi-u-gítai*, "will he find?" &c. Even a third particle or a pronoun is sometimes thrust in, and in turn acts enclitically upon *uh* or *u*; as : (*dis-sítan*, "to fall upon" (said of fear); but) *diz-uh-sát*, "and (fear) fell upon (them)"; but) *diz-ùh-þan-sa"t*, "and thereupon (fear) fell on (them)." See also *gá-ù-hwa-se"hwí* (§ 45 (2, ga-).) In these proclitic conglomerates the effect of each successive enclitic is to raise by a grade the accent of the preceding one.

(iii) But the terms pro- and en-clitic, in a wider sense, cover many separate subsidiary words in a clause. Thus the article, prepositions, and conjunctions are proclitic; unemphatic pronouns may be either pro- or en-clitic; while a proclitic to a following word may act enclitically upon a preceding one (as *at* in *láisjàn at mārèin*, "to teach by the sea"); and, further, as in the conglomerates just treated in (ii), so an enclitic may attach itself to one of these independent proclitics; or two or three of the latter may come together; or mixed groups may occur. Examples : (*us híminà*, "from heaven"; but) *ùz-u híminà wás?* "was-it from heaven?"—(*af þus sílbin*, "of thyself"; but) *áb-ù þus sílbin þàta quíþis?* "sayest-thou that of thyself?" (*afar þàta*, "after thát"; but) *afar-ùh þan þàta*, "and after thát";—*iddjèdun-*

*ùh ùfar mårèin*<sup>9</sup>, “and they wént òver the sèa”; or, without *u* or *uh*,—*gángàts in þo háim*<sup>9</sup>, “gó ìnto the vùllàge.” Many of these subordinate words, owing to their non-accentuation, underwent, in Teutonic, phonetic weakening; and to the oldest Gothic we may assign forms like *hwaz*, *iz*, (G. s.) *þiz*, *diz*, *uz*, *ab*<sup>10</sup>, *ub*<sup>10</sup>. In the later Gothic the final consonants became *s* and *f* in the independent words, *hwas*, *is*, *uf*, &c. (See §§ 30 (2, v, vi) and 31 (7) above); but *z* and *b* still appear in interior positions, as in composition and in oblique cases,—*hwazuh*, *izei*, *pizos*, *ab-uh*, &c.

(6) With the foregoing sketch we must leave the Gothic accentuation, many points in which cannot be satisfactorily settled. In conclusion we will here repeat a part of the passage quoted in § 11 above, with an attempted assignment of the accents:—

Jah áfrà Iésus dugáun láisjàn at ma"rei"n; jah galésun sík du ìmma mánagèins fi"lu", swáswè inà galéipàndan in skíp gasítan in mårèin; jah állà so mánagèi wìpra mårèin àna stápa wàs. Jah láisidà ins (or *láisida ìns*? see (3, iv)) in gájukòm (or ìn gájukòm? see (4, i) *ad fin.*) ma"na"ng, jah quáp ìm in láiseinài seinài: Hau"sei"þ! Sái, urránn sa sáiands du sáian frai"wa sèinammà. Jah wa"rp, míp-þanci sáisò, súm ràihtis gadráus faur wi"ng, jah quémun fúglòs jah frétun þàta (or frétun þatà?). A'nþaruh-þan gadráus àna stai"nàhammà, þàrèi ni hábaidà (or hábaida) áirþa mánaga; jah súns urra"nn, in þízèi ni hábaidà díupaizòs áirþòs: at súnnin þan urrín-nandìn ufbra"nn, jah, úntè ni hábaidà wáurtins, gaþau"rs-noda"; &c. &c.

<sup>9</sup> The determination of the accentuation in groups of subordinate words, especially when some are disyllables, is not always easy. I much doubt whether Paul's postulate,—that no two successive syllables have the same accent-grade,—which may hold good for individual words, can be granted for words in series. Before and after a pause, at any rate, however slight, (as, I think, Paul concedes,) exactly the same level of accent may occur; and further, two successive syllables may often be on the lowest level; at least, with ordinary enunciation, I am unable to perceive any difference of strength between *to* and *the*, in “gó into the vùllàge”; or between *-er* and *the* in “òver the sèa.”

I ought perhaps to have mentioned before that Paul, in arranging gradations of accent, discriminates between strength, or emphasis, and tone, or musical pitch. To avoid prolonged discussion of the subject I have tacitly assumed that variations of emphasis carry with them variations of tone, as they mostly do.

<sup>10</sup> These two preps. were probably, as Sievers thinks, shortened from \**aba*, \**uba*, for \**afá*, \**ufá*, (Gk. ἀπό, ἐπό).

## PART IV.

## SYNTAX.

86. Syntax treats of words as members of the Proposition or Sentence,—*i. e.*, as used in combination for the expression of thought or feeling. As, therefore, the unit of Phonology is the articulate sound ; and as the unit of Morphology is the word composed of such sounds ; so the primary unit of Syntax is the simple proposition. The abstract basis of Syntax lies in the relationship existing among the successive ideas or notions combined in any mental operation ; but the concrete exponents both of the ideas or notions and of their relationships are the completed words whose formation has been studied under Morphology ; and the special business of the Syntax of any language is to deduce, from the usages of that language, the rules which control the assignment of its various word-forms to the expression of those relationships. In doing this, however, the purview of Syntax must extend beyond its primary unit ; for men ultimately found themselves able to evolve, by an uninterrupted effort, a cluster of closely-allied simple thoughts adjusted to one another in various appropriate relationships, and to express such a thought-cluster by a corresponding cluster of simple propositions. This process required the formation of elaborate conjunctive machinery, and, especially in the older I-E. languages, involved alterations in the form and order of the words in some of the constituent propositions<sup>1</sup>. All such results of the process have likewise to be investigated by Syntax<sup>2</sup>.

87. The Syntax of the Gothic language is, in its main features, closely similar to that of every other I-E. language<sup>1</sup>. The principal relationships accordingly into which the constituents of a sentence may enter are :

<sup>1</sup> Lat. *disco*, but *lego ut DISCAM* ;—*senex est*, but *sciebat SE SENEM ESSE* ; &c.

<sup>2</sup> In the following outlines of Go. Syntax it is assumed that the reader is familiar with the methods and the terminology of grammatical analysis.

<sup>1</sup> In the Gothic remains, which are mostly close translations from the Greek, the idioms and constructions of the latter language often appear to be exactly reproduced ; but there is no reason to suppose that any violence was done to the native texture of the Gothic : in many respects the two languages stood on nearly the same linguistic level.

(1) The *Subjective* or *Nominative*;—(2) The *Direct Objective* or *Accusative*;—(3) The *Secondary, Remoter, or Indirect Objective* (Dative, &c.);—(4) The *Attributive* or *Adjectival* (including *Apposition*);—(5) The *Prædicative* or *Assertive*;—(6) The *Adverbial*.

(1) The *Subject* of a sentence may be

(i) A substantive or a pronoun; and its inflexional characteristic is the Nominative case; as: *Stibna* quam us himinam = “*A-voice* came from heaven.”

(ii) But in Gothic, as in Latin and Greek, the subject may be involved in the verb itself (§ 38 (4)); as: *Amen quiþa izwis* = “*Verily I-say to-you*”;—*Atiddjēdun* du Iēsu = “*They-came to Jesus*.”

Instead of a subst. or pronoun, any word or collection of words having a substantival force may be used; as:

(iii) An adjective used substantivally; as: *Ni þaúrþun swinþai* (or *hailai*) *lēkeis* (gen.) = “*The-strong* (or *the-whole*) need not a physician.”

(iv) An infinitive or infinitive phrase; as: *Waúrdan weiþan* du ni waistai daug = “*To-strive* with-words is-profitable for nothing.”

(v) A participial phrase; as: *þai haldandans þō sweina gaplaúhun* = “*Those keeping* (= *they-that-kept*) *the swine fled*.”

(vi) A complex sentence may have for its subject a substantival clause (∴ a subordinate subjective proposition); as: *Saei wajamēreiþ ahman weiþana ni habaiþ fralēt aiw* = “*Whoso blasphemeth the Holy Ghost* never hath forgiveness.”

(2) The *Direct Object* of a sentence may also be

(i) a subst. or pronoun; and its inflexional characteristic is the Accusative case; as: *Herodes nahtamat waúrhta* = “*Herod made a supper*.”

(ii) An adjective used substantivally; as: *Gasalbōdēdun managans siukans* = “*They anointed many sick*.”

(iii) An infinitive or infinitive phrase; as: *Aþþan ik quiþa izwis ni swaran allis* = “*I tell you not to-swear at-all*.”

(iv) A participial phrase; as: *Andnimip þana sandjandan mik* = “*He-receiveth him-that-sendeth me*.”

(v) In a complex sentence the direct object may be a substantival clause; as: *Meridēdun ei idreigōdēdeina* = “*They preached that (men) were-to-repent*.”

But, as qualificative of (i), it is to be noted

(vi) That, by specially Gothic usages, a direct object appears sometimes in the Genitive, and more frequently in the Dative; as: (G.) *Hilp meinaizōs ungalaubeinai* = “*Help-*

thou *mine unbelief*”;—Uswairpiþ þaim unhulþōm=“He-casteth-out the devils.”

And as qualificative of (v) it is to be noted

(vii) That an accus. + infin. (as in Latin) may be construed as a clause; *e.g.*: *Hwa wilcits taujan mik inquis*=“What will-ye-two *that I do for you?*” *i.e.*, more familiarly, “What do-you-want *me to-do for-you?*”—Allai gadōmidēdun *ina skulan wisan dauþau*=“They all adjudged *him to-be guilty of death,*” *i.e.*, “*that he was guilty,*” &c.

(3) The *Secondary, Remoter, or Indirect Object* (when there is one) must be

(i) A substantive or pronoun, or an equivalent; but the cases and the constructions may vary, as in the following samples:—Atgaf haubiþ Iōhannis þizai maujai (dat.)=“He-gave John’s head *to-the damsel*”;—(Aipþ) þanci swōr wiþra Abraham attan unsarana (prep. + acc.)=“*(The-oath) which he-swore to Abraham our father*”;—Gahailida managans missaleikaim saūhtim (dat.)=“He-healed many *of-various diseases.*”

(ii) Rarely, the secondary object is a substantival clause; as: Bidei mik þishwizuh-þei (gen.) *wileis*=“Ask me for *whatsoever thou-wilt.*”

(iii) Under this head should perhaps be placed the “factive” accusative, whether it be subst., adj., pron., or infin. Examples: *Hwana þuk-silban taujis þu?*=“Whom makest thou thyself?”;—Ni magt ain tagl hweit aipþau swart gataujan=“Thou-canst not make one hair *white or black*”;—Baudans gataujiþ gahausjan jah unrōdjandans rōdjan=“The-deaf he-maketh *to-hear* and the speechless *to-speak.*”

(iv) Or *wairþan*, “to be, become,” may be used between the two accusatives; *e.g.*: Gatauja *inquis wairþan nutans mannē*=“I will make (*or cause*) *you to-become fishers of men.*” This construction is scarcely distinguishable from that in (2, vii.).

(v) But, instead of a second accusative, *du* + dat. may be used; as: Jus gatawidēduþ ita *du filigrja waidēdjanē*=“Ye have-made it (the temple) *into a den of thieves*”;—þu, manna wisands, taujis þuk-silban *du gupa*=“Thou, being a-man, makest thyself *into God.*”

(4) The *Attributive* function is discharged either by an adjective or by some word, phrase, or clause having an adjectival force.

(i) An adjective; as: Sum gadraus in aírþa *gōda*=“Some fell in *good ground.*”

(ii) A participle or participial phrase; as: Daupidai wēsun

allai, *andhaitandans frawaúrhtim seinaim* = "Baptized were-they all, *confessing their sins.*"

(iii) A genitive; as: *Galaiþ in gard þis synagōgafadlis* = "He-went into the-house *of-the ruler-of-the-synagogue.*"

(iv) An infinitive or a phrase; as: *Álfeisabaíþ (dat.) usfullnōda mēl du baíran* = "For-Elizabeth was-fulfilled the-time *to bring-forth*";—*Ganimiþ þaus miþ sis* = "He taketh them (that are) *with him.*"

(v) A relative clause; as: *Insailidēdun þata badi ana þammei lag sa usliþa* = "They tied-ropes-to the bed *on which lay the palsied-man.*"

(vi) Appositional words, phrases, and even clauses, are (although less distinctly) of an adjectival character, being expository of the nouns to which they are attached; as: . . . in *garda Daweidis (gen.) þiumagaus sein's (gen.)* = ". . . in the house of-David *his servant*";—*Gasahw Iakōbu (acc.) þana (acc.) Zaíbaídaiaus jah Iōhannē brōþar is* = "He saw James *the (son) of-Zebedee* and John *his brother.*" We cannot, of course, give an inflexional case to clauses; but their syntactic relationships are just as clear as if we could; thus, in the following we have really an objective (substantival) clause in apposition with the accus. *anabusn*:—*Anabusn niuja giba izwis, ei frijōþ izwis-missō* = "A new commandment I-give to-you, (*viz.*) *that ye-love one-another.*" But in the following the same clause assumes a subjective character by apposition with *þata*:—*þata ist anabusns meina, ei frijōþ, &c.* = "This, (*viz.*) *that ye-love one-another,* is my commandment."

(5) In Syntax the term "*Prædicate*" denotes the assertive word or words of a sentence; it includes therefore the "copula" (positive and negative) which, in logic, is excluded, but excludes the direct and other objects, which, in logic, are included.

(i) In Gothic, as elsewhere, the grammatical prædicate is generally a single verb-form; as: *Gaguēmun managai* = "Many-people *came-together*": the resolution of such a form into its logical equivalents is a matter with which grammar has nothing to do.

(ii) But composite tenses may be formed by means of a ptep. plus a tense of *wisan* or *wairþan* as copula; or by means of an infin. plus a tense of *skulan*, *kunnan*, &c.; as: *Iohannes was daupjands* = "John *was baptizing*";—*Jabai Satana gadailiþs warþ . . .* = "If Satan *was divided . . .*";—*Wailamērjan ik skal* = "Preach I *must.*"

(iii) Or the grammatical prædicate may consist of an adjective, a substantive, an adverb, a phrase, or even a clause, plus a tense of *wisan*, *wairþan*, or of some intrans. or passive

verb, as copula; *e.g.*: Wastjōs is waurþun hweitōs = "His garments became white"; — þu is Kristus = "Thou art Christ"; — þōmas, saci haitada Didimus = "Thomas, who is-called Didymus"; — Jabai sijai jāinar sunus gawaurþjis . . . = "If the son of peace be there . . ."; — Ik us-þamma-fairhwau ni-im = "I am-not of-this-world"; — Sa ist þammei-sōkjand-usquiman = "This is the-man-whom-they-seek-to-kill" (See § 103 (vi)). But the copula may be suppressed; as: Braid daúr, jah rums wig = "Wide (is) the door, and broad (is) the way."

(iv) With the parts of *wisan* and *waurþan*, *du* + a dat. is sometimes used; as: Sijaina (opt. = fut.) þō twa du leika samin = "They two shall-become one flesh"; — (Ik) waurþa izwis du attin, jah jus waurþiþ mis du sunum = "I will-become a-father to-you, and ye shall-become sons to me." This is a correlative construction to that in (3, v).

(v) Sometimes in Gothic (as frequently in English) a preposition following a verb may be taken with the verb as a loose compound; as: Bidjaiþ-bi þans wrikandans izwis = "Pray-for them-that-persecute you."

(6) The *Adverb*, as its name imports, is generally attached to a verb or verbal<sup>2</sup>; *e.g.*:

(i) þō alla ubilōna innafro usgangand = "All these evils come-out from-within."

But the *Adverbial function* may be discharged by numerous equivalents of the adverb proper; as by:

(ii) Some case of a substantive; as: Ufarassau sildaleiki-dēdun = "They marvelled exceedingly" (lit., "in-excess"): such a case is, in fact, an adverb.

(iii) An infinitive; as: Quēmun saihwan = "They-came to-see" (purpose).

(iv) Prepositional phrases of various kinds; as: Daupidai wēsun allai in Iaúrdanē ahwai fram imma = "Baptized were they-all in the river (of) Jordan" (place) "by him" (agency); — Gaurs warþ in þizē aiþē = "He was sorry on-account-of the oaths" (cause); — Afar dagans þrins bigētun ina . . . = "After three days" (time) "they found him . . ."

(v) An absolute phrase, with or without *at*; as: Nauhþanuh at imma rōdjandin, quam Iudas = "He yet speaking" (time) "came Judas"; — Andanahtja þan waurþanamma bērun du imma . . . = "Evening then coming-on" (time), "they brought to him . . ." These phrases are generally rendered by clauses (§ 110).

<sup>2</sup> The exceptions are the advs. of degree or intension which modify the meanings of adjs. or other advs.



(vi) A clause; as : *Jabai wileis*, magt mik gahrainjan = "If thou wilt" (condition) "thou canst cleanse me";—*Ni fralaīlōt ins rōdjan, untē kunpēdun ina* = "He did not allow them to speak, because they knew him" (reason). Adverbial clauses are multiform and of delicately-graded force; the adverbial conjunctions by which they are introduced (§ 84 (4)–(11)) may be taken as symbols or exponents of their several characters.

(7) In now considering the details of Gothic Syntax we may take the "parts of speech" in the same order as before; viz.: (α) Substantives; (β) Adjectives; (γ) Pronouns; (δ) Verbs; and (ε) Particles; but as Syntactic sometimes differ from Inflexional relationships, it will now be convenient to treat the Article along with the Adjectives, and the Participles (in their verbal character) along with the Verbs.

(α) *Substantives*.—Syntax of the Cases<sup>1</sup>.

88. The *Nominative Case*.

(i) This case has been shown (§ 87 (1)) to characterize, primarily, the subject of a proposition.

(ii) But substantives used prædicatively (§ 87 (5)) are also in the nominative, probably by attraction to the subject. In this construction the prædicative substantive implies, for the time being, the same person or thing as the subject, and the two are connected by an intransitive or a passive verb.

(iii) A substantive in apposition with a nominative is itself also in the nominative<sup>2</sup>.

(iv) Very rarely a Nominative Absolute occurs (See § 110).

89. The *Vocative* is of an interjectional nature: hence grammarians hesitate to regard it as properly a "case." A substantive when in the vocative becomes, for the time being, of the "second person."

(i) The vocative, in Ulfilas, generally follows the Grk. original; as: *Managai quipand mis, frauja, frauja!* (Mt. vii. 22) = "Many shall-say unto-me, lord, lord!" (κύριε, κύριε!); —*Apþan hwa mik haitiþ frauja, frauja!* (Lk. vi. 46) = "But why call ye me lord, lord!" (where we might have expected an accus.). More remarkable is the following:—*Jus wōpeip*

<sup>1</sup> The general rules respecting the Cases apply also to adjectives and pronouns, and will not be formally repeated in connexion with these parts of speech: some pronominal examples will indeed be here cited.

<sup>2</sup> This obvious agreement of appositional nouns and pronouns extends to all the cases: a corresponding rule need not be repeated in each instance.

mik *laisareis* jah *frauja* (John xiii. 13) = "Ye call me *teacher* and *lord*" (ὁ διδάσκαλος καὶ ὁ κύριος).

(ii) A genuine Gothic usage appears in the prefixation of the personal pron. to the voc.; as: þu lēki, hailei þuk silban (Lk. iv. 23) = "(Thou) *physician*, heal thyself!" (=Grk. *ιατρέ* only).

(iii) But in numerous instances the pron. so used seems to be a more explicit rendering of the Grk. art.; as: *Atta unsar*, þu in himinam (Mt. vi. 9) = "Our father, (*thou*) in the heavens" (ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς); — *Jus wairōs*, frijōþ quenins izwarōs! (Eph. v. 25) = "(Ye) *husbands*, love your wives!" (οἱ ἄνδρες . . .). This rendering of the Grk. art., however, is not essential; e.g.: *Sunau* Daweidis, armai mik! (Mk. x. 47) = "*Son of David*, have-mercy-on me!" (ὁ υἱὸς . . ., but no þu). — The voc. frequently, as here, accompanies an imperative.

90. The *Accusative* has been shown (§ 87 (2, i)) to be

(i) and primarily the case of the direct object in a proposition of which the prædicate comprises a transitive verb. (But see § 87 (2, vi).)

(ii) The accusative is also required to follow certain prepositions (§ 83).

(iii) But accusatives of substantives denoting distance or duration are used adverbially without any governing preposition; as: *Gangais miþ imma twōs (rastōs)* = "Go with him *two (miles)*"; — *Quēmun dagis wig* = "They went a day's *journey*"; — *Salida . . . twans dagans* = "He-abode . . . *two days*."

(iv) A similar adverbial accus. is that which indicates (as in Grk. and Lat.) an object or a part of the person affected by the meaning of a verb, a verbal, or an adjective in the same clause; as: *Urrann sa dauþa gabundans handuns jah fotuns faskjam* (John xi. 44) = "The dead-man came-forth bound *hand* and *foot* (lit., *hands* and *feet*) with bandages" (δεδεμένος τὰς χεῖρας, &c.). With the accus. the dat. may alternate; as: *Standaip nu ufgaurðanai hupins izwarans sunjai . . ., jah gaskōhai fōtum*, &c. (Eph. vi. 14, 15) = "Stand therefore, girt (about) *your loins* with truth . . ., and shod *on-your-feet*," &c. (The Grk. has the accus. in both places.) (The following passage, however, does not show this construction: — *Jah haubiþ wundan brāhtēdun* (Mk. xii. 4) = "And they wounded (him) *in-the-head*," but lit., "they brought or made his head wounded").

<sup>1</sup> So Latimer renders the passage in his sermon on it.

(v) Some intransitive verbs may take an accus. of similar meaning to their own (a "cognate" accus.); as: *huzeljan huzda*, "to treasure-up treasures";—*waürkjan waürstara*, "to work works";—*haüfstjan haüfst*, "to fight a fight."

(vi) The impersonal verbs (3 p. s.) *grēdōþ* or *hungreip*, lit., "it hungers (me, you, &c.)," and *þaürseip*, "it thirsteth (me, you, &c.)," require an accus. of the person affected; as: *Jabai grēdō* (subj.) *fijand þeinana* . . . ; *jabai þaürseip ina* . . . (Rom. xii. 20) = "If *thine enemy hunger* . . . ; if *he thirst* . . .";—*þana gangandan du mis ni hungreip hwanhunn* (John vi. 35) = "He-that-cometh to me shall never hunger."

(vii) *Kara* (*ist*), lit., "there is care or concern (for somebody)," is equivalent to an impers. vb., and takes an accus. (where we should have expected a dative) of the person feeling the care, and a gen. (really dependent on *kara*) of the person or thing causing it; as: *Ni kar' ist ina þize lambē* (John x. 13) = "He careth not (=he is not concerned) for the sheep." The object of the care may even be expressed by a clause to which a genitive quality is given by the conjunction; as: *Ni-u kara þuk þizei fraquistnam* (Mk. iv. 38) = "Carest thou not that we perish?" (*þizei* = *þis + ei*, "for this, viz., that . . .").

(viii) Verbs that denote *teaching, naming, reckoning* (= *considering*), *rendering*, and the like, require two accusatives, between which, when the sense allows, *swē* or *swaswē* may occur; as: *Laisida ins in gajukōm manag* = "He-taught them many-a-thing in parables";— . . . *þanzei apaüstaülns namnida* = " . . . whom he called apostles";—*Triggwana mik rahnida* = "He-counted (reckoned) me faithful";—*Swē unfrōdana nimaiþ mik* = "Receive me as a fool."

(ix) A variety of the foregoing appears in the idioms—*garaihtana* (or *uswaürhtana*) + *dōmjān*, *gadōmjān*, *quiþan*, or *gateihan*; lit., "to judge, adjudge, or declare (oneself or any one else) (to be) righteous or just"; i. e., simply, "to justify"; as: *Garaihtana dōmidēdun guþ* (Lk. vii. 29) = "They justified God" (lit., "adjudged him to be just");—*Juzei in witōda garaihtans quiþiþ izwis* (Gal. v. 4) = "Ye-who are justified by the law" (lit., "assert yourselves to be righteous").

(x) Closely similar is the use of *bringan* with an adj. or a ptep.; as: *Witōþ ahmins libainais frijana brahta mik witōdis frawaürhtais* (Rom. viii. 2) = "The law of the spirit of life hath-made me free from the law of sin." So also *waürþana bringan*, "to render worthy"; *wundan bringan*, "to wound" (See under (iv) above); and *gamainja bringan*, "to communicate." The idioms in (viii), (ix), and (x) are closely similar to the factitive accus. of § 87 (3, iii).

(xi) Verbs of sensation or perception often take an accus. ptep. with their object (as in Grk.); *e. g.*: Bigat *unhulþōn usgangana* (Mk. vii. 30) = "He found *the-evil-spirit gone-out*." (See § 110 (x).)

(xii) For the accus. + infin. as = an objective clause, see § 87 (2, vii). But sometimes the acc. + inf. after *swaswē* is = a final or conclusional clause: it then renders the similar Grk. accus. + inf. after ὥστε; *e. g.*: . . . *swaswē þata skip gahulþ-waírþan fram wēgim* (Mt. viii. 24) = ". . . so that *the ship was-covered by the waves*" (ὥστε τὸ πλοῖον καλύπτεσθαι, &c.).

91. The *Dative* is (i) one of the forms assumed by the remoter object (§ 87 (3)).

(ii) With *du* the dat. occasionally forms idioms well known in older English; as: Þai sibun aihtēdun þō *du quēnai* (Mk. xii. 23) = "The seven had her *to wife*";—Xristus izwisnist *du bōtai* (Gal. v. 2) = "Christ profiteth you nothing" (lit., "is not to you for a profit,"—*du bōtai* = "to boot"). Closely similar to these is: Ni hwashun lagjip *du plata* fanan þarihis ana snagan faírujana (Mt. ix. 16) = "Nobody putteth, *for a patch*, a piece of new-cloth on to an old garment."

(iii) If, by change of an active verb into a passive, the direct object becomes the subject, the dative of the remoter object remains unaltered; as: Aflētanda þus frawaurhteis þeinōs (Mk. ii. 5, 9) = "Thy sins are forgiven *thee*"; (passive to: Ik aflēta þus frawaurhtins þeinōs, "I forgive *thee* thy sins").

(iv) The dat. often occurs with intransitive verbs to indicate the person or thing with reference to whom or which an action or feeling takes place; as: . . . wailamērjan *unlēdaim* = ". . . to preach-the-gospel *to-the-poor*";—Ni maurnaiþ *saiwalai izwarai* = "Take no thought (*or*, be not concerned) *for your life*." These datives are really indirect objects; *wailamērjan* may in fact take an accus. also.

(v) The Gothic often uses, with verbs denoting thought and feeling (especially fear), a dat. of reference, closely resembling the *dativus ethicus* of the Latin; as: Ni ōgs þus, "Be (thou) not afraid";—Ni faurhteip *izwis*, "Be (ye) not affrighted";—þankjan *sis* or mitōn *sis*, "to think *to-one-self*";—Frawaurhta *mis*, "I have sinned." Some of these may take a direct object also; as: Ni nunu ōgeip *izwis ins* (Mt. x. 26) = "Fear (ye) not *them* therefore";—Hērōdēs ohta *sis Iōhannēn* (Mk. vi. 20) = "Herod feared *John*."—Add this: *Run gawaurhtēdun-sis* alla sō haírda (Mt. viii. 32)

=lit., "All the herd *made-them a run*," i.e., "made a rush, or rushed."

(vi) The *dat.* + *wisan* or *waírpan* is = *haban* (cf. Lat. *est mihi*, &c.); as: *Fraugin* þaírfts þis *ist* (Lk. xix. 31) lit., "*To-the-lord there-is* need of this" = "The lord *hath* need of this";—*Saúrga mis ist* mikila (Rom. ix. 2) — "*I have* great sorrow";—*Waírþiþ Sarrin* sunus (9) — "*Sarah shall-have* a son."

(vii) Similar is the use of the *dat.* with a substantive implying a relationship of the person or thing named to some other person or thing; as: *Hwas ist mis* nehwndja? (Lk. x. 29) = "Who is *my* neighbour?"—*Frauja ist þamma sabbato* (Mk. ii. 28) = He is lord *of-the-sabbath*."

(viii) The idiom of (v) is extended (on the pattern of the Greek) to two datives, when a community of interest is in question; as: *Hwa uns jah þus?* = lit., "What [is there common] *to-us* and *to-thee*?" i.e. (E. V.), "What *have we* to do *with-thee*?"—*Ni waíht [sijai] þus jah þamma gorahtin* (Mt. xxvii. 19) = (E. V.) "*Have thou* nothing to do *with-that just-man*."

(ix) Those neuter adjs. which with *ist* form a sort of impersonal compound require the dative and generally an infinitive; such are: *gadof (gadob) ist* (= Lat. *decet*), "it befits or beseems"; *azētizo* or *rapizō ist*, "it is easier"; *aglu ist*, "it is difficult"; *gōþ ist* (= Lat. *prodest*), "it is good"; *wan' ist* (= Lat. *de-est*), "there is wanting"; *bruks* or *bruk ist*, "it is useful"; e.g.: *Rapizō ist ulbandan þaírþ þaírkō nēþlōs þaírþhleíþan . . .* (Lk. xviii. 25) = "*It-is easier for-a-camel to-go* through the eye of a needle . . .";—*Ainis þus wan ist* (Mk. x. 21) = "Of-one-thing *there-is* a lack to thee," i.e., "One thing thou lackest."

(x) Adjectives and ptps. implying knowledge, affection, likeness, and other relational notions take a dative; as: *Sah was kunþs þamma gudjin* = "And he was *known to-the* (chief) *priest*";—*Sunu aigands liubana sis . . .* = "Having a son *dear to-himself* . . .";—*Jah anþara galeika þizai* = "And the second is *like unto-that*."

(xi) The Gothic dative discharges the functions of the old ablative, instrumental, and locative; as: (a) = *Instrum.*: *Wōpida Iesus stibnai mikilai* = "Jesus cried *with a loud voice*";—*Slōhun is haubiþ rausa* = "They smote his head *with a reed*"; (b) = Lat. *abl.* (but Grk. *gen.*) of *comparison*: *Quimiþ swinþōza mis* = "There-cometh a mightier *than-I*";—*Niu saiwala mais ist fōdeinai jah leuk wastjōm?* (Mt. vi. 25) = "Is-not the-life more *than-food* and the body *than-raiment*?"

<sup>1</sup> *Wan* may be a neut. *subst.*

(c) = Lat. abl. or locative, and Grk. dat., denoting *point of time*: *Jah sabbato daga* galeipands in synagōgēn . . . = "And, *on-the-sabbath day*, going into the synagogue . . .";—*Sōh þizai hweilai atstandaudei* . . . = "And she coming up *at-that moment* . . .": but (d) a point or period of time marked by some well-known person is indicated by *uf*, "under," + the dat. of such person's name (as in Grk. by ἐπὶ + gen.); *e. g.*: *uf Abiaþara gudjin* = "*in-the-days-of* Abiathar the (high) priest";—*uf Haileisaiau prauþetau* = "*in-the-days-of* Elisha the prophet": (e) The use of the dat. with an abl. function appears still more clearly after the preps. *af*, *miþ*, *saúra*, &c. (§ 83); of which special examples need not be cited.

(xii) *Du* + the dat. of verbal nouns (like εἰς or πρὸς + accus.) may frequently be rendered by an infin.; *e. g.*: *Liuhap du andhuleinai þiudōm* (Lk. ii. 32) = "A light *to lighten* the gentiles," (lit., "*for-a-revelation to-the-gentiles,—εἰς ἀποκάλυψιν* . . .);—All *bōkō* . . . *þaurftōs du laiseinai, du gasahtai, du garaþhteinai, du talzeinai* in *garaihtein* (Tim. II. iii. 16) = "All of-the scriptures . . . (are) *useful to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct* in righteousness" (lit., *for teaching,—πρὸς διδασκαλίαν*, &c.).

(xiii) It has been shown (§ 87 (2, vi)) that some verbs take a direct object in the dative case. The commoner of such verbs are: *bairgan*, "to keep, preserve"; *fraquiman*, "to spend, consume"; *fraliusan*, "to lose"; *fraþjan*, "to understand"; *gaumjan*, "to perceive"; *ufarmunnōn*, "to forget"; *tēkan* and *attēkan*, "to touch"; *idweitjan*, "to upbraid, reproach"; *kukjan*, "to kiss"; *frakunnan*, "to despise"; and *balujan*, "to torment."

(xiv) Other verbs take sometimes the dat. and sometimes the accus. without variation of sense; as: *fraquistjan*, *usquistjan*, and *usquiman*, "to destroy"; *wairpan*, "to cast"; *uswairpan* and *usdreiban*, "to cast out"; and *saian*, "to sow."

(xv) Others take the dat. or accus. with a slight change of meaning; as:

<i>anahaitan</i> ,	+	dat.	= to scold;		+	accus.	= to call on, invoke;
<i>andhaitan</i> ,	„		= to confess, profess,	„		= to acknowledge	
			thank;			(= recognize);	
<i>gasakan</i> ,	„		= to rebuke, reprove;	„		= to convince, to	
						silence;	
<i>uskiusan</i> ,	„		= to reject;	„		= to prove, test;	

and others.

(xvi) If an active verb which takes its direct object in the dative be turned into the passive voice, the dative may be turned into the nominative; as: *Usdribana warþ so managei*

= "The multitude was driven out"; (correlative to : *Urdrihūn þizai managein*);—*Sa reiks þis fairhwaus uswaírpada út* = "The ruler of this world is-being-cast-out." The same mutation may appear even when, in the active construction, the dat. was an indirect object; as : *Unlédai wailamérjanda* (Mt. xi. 5) = "The-poor are preached-to." (See (iii) above.)

(xvii) More rarely such a passive is used impersonally and the dative is preserved; as : *Bajöþum gabaírgada* (Mt. ix. 17) = lit., "Preservation-is-effected for-both," E.V. "Both are-preserved";— . . . þei wáhtai ní fraquistnai (John vi. 12) = lit., ". . . that no-waste-be-made in-respect-of-anything," E.V. "that nothing be lost." (Compare the Latin usage in the case of verbs like *imperare*, *persuadere*, &c.)

(xviii) For the Dative Absolute, see § 110.

## 92. The Genitive.

(i) When one person or thing is spoken of as taking its origin from another, the name of that other is put in the genitive case. The relation of the genitive to this its so-called "governing" word is of an adjectival character (§ 87 (4, iii)). Varieties of the simple concrete genitive appear in the following Gothic examples :—*Sa sunus Marjins*, "the son of (=sprung from, born of) Mary";—*Haírda sweinē*, "a herd of (=made up from) swine";—*Launa frawaírhtais dauþus*, "the wages of (=resulting from) sin (is) death";—*Skalks aukumistins gudjins*, "a servant of (=belonging to) the high priest"; &c.

(ii) The last-cited phrase exemplifies the very common "possessive" genitive. This gen. may be used prædicatively; as : *Untē Kristaus sijuþ*, "Because ye-are Christ's."

(iii) The force of the genitive was ultimately extended to the expression of a great variety of relationships, some of which seem actually opposed to its original force. We can speak, for example, not only of "the father's son," but also of "the boy's father"; and in the case of a phrase like "the fear of the enemy," we can only tell from the context whether the fear is subjective or objective,—i. e., whether the enemy feared some one else or some one else feared them. The Gothic accompanies the cognate languages in such usages.

(iv) Rarely, the word for "house" is omitted in Go. (as in Engl.) after the gen. of a personal name; as : *Gangip summs mannē fram þis faúramapleis synagōgeis* (Lk. viii. 49) = "There-cometh a certain man (lit., a-certain-one of-men) from the-ruler-of-the-synagogue's,"—i. e., *fram garda*, "from the house (of)."

(v) A large area in the realm of this case is occupied by

what is loosely called the *Partitive* genitive. Here, the gen. denotes a *whole* (number or quantity), of which one, some, or a part is denoted by the accompanying noun or pronoun (or an equivalent). Genitives like that in *haurda sweinē* (in (i) above) are therefore really partitives; but the designation is usually reserved for instances in which the notions of part and whole are more distinctly marked,—as when the gen. is accompanied by an interrogative or indefinite pronoun, a numeral, or a superlative; examples: *Hwas izwara . . . ?* = “*Who or Which (one) of you . . . ?*”—*Ni fralailōt ainōhun izē miþ sis afargangan* (Mk. v. 37) = “*He-allowed not any-one of-them to follow with (i. e., to accompany) himself.*” So also *ains þizē bōkarjē*, “*one of-the scribes*”;—*allaizō anabusnē frumista*, “*the-first of-all-the-commandments*”;—*manageins filu*, “*much of-the-people,*” *i. e.*, “*a great multitude.*” Even *all* is similarly used (as with us); *e. g.*: *all bagmē godaizē*, lit., “*all of-the-good trees,*” E.V. “*every good tree*”;—*all manageins*, “*all (of) the multitude.*”

(vi) Some idiomatic partitives with the interrog. or demonstr. pronoun deserve special notice; as: *N’ist hwa fulginis* = lit., “*There is nothing (of) hidden*”;—*ni waiht wargiþōs* = “*nothing of (=no) condemnation*” (cf. Lat. *quid novi, nihil mali*, &c.);—*Und þata hweilōs* (G. s.) *þei . . .* (Mt. ix. 15) = lit., “*Up-to that (point) of time that . . .*,” *i. e.*, “*while*” or “*as long as*”;—*Hwō sō laiseinō sō niujō ?* (Mk. i. 27) = “*What (is) this (of) doctrines, this new (doctrine) ?*” = “*What new doctrine (is) this ?*”—*Hwō sō handugeinō sō gibanō imma ?* (vi. 2) = “*What (is) this (of) wisdom, this that-is-given to him ?*” So also: *þai þiudō*, “*they of-the-gentiles,*” *i. e.*, “*the heathen,*” is = the simple plural *þiudōs*.

(vii) But the gen. alone may be used partitively, especially after *ni*; as: *Wēsun swē lamba ni habandōna hairdeis* (Mt. ix. 36) = “*They were as sheep not having (any) shepherd*” (= French, *n’ayant pas de berger*);—*Ni habaida diupaizōs airþōs* (Mk. iv. 5) = “*It had no deep earth,*” E.V. “*no depth of*”;—*Jah ni was im barnē* (Lk. i. 7) = lit., “*And there-was-not to-them (any one) of-children,*” *i. e.*, “*they had no child.*” This is a genuine Gothic idiom; but a genitive *solus* may also occur in a positive clause; as: *Matidēduþ þizē hlaibē* (John vi. 26) = “*Ye did eat of the loaves*”;—*Insandida skalk ei nēmi akranis* (Mk. xii. 2) = “*He sent a servant that he-might-receive of-the-fruit*” (= Grk. *ἀπό* + gen.).

(viii) Such an unaccompanied partitive genitive may also occur prædicatively; as: *Bi sunjai jah þu þizē* is (Mt. xxvi.



73) = "Of a truth thou also art (one) *of-them*." (See (ii) above.)

(ix) A gen. may be used to denote age; as: Was *ankjērē twalibē* (Mk. v. 42) = "For she-was (of the age) *of-twelve years*." (The adj. *twalibwintrus*, "twelve-years-old," might equally well have been used.)

(x) The Gothic is fond of using a gen. of the name of the people of a country or city + *land*, *markōs*, or the like, instead of the name of the country or city itself; as: *Tyrē jah Seidonē land* (Mt. xi. 21) = "The land *of the Tyrians and Sidonians*," i. e., "Tyre and Sidon"<sup>1</sup>; — *Galeipandsaf markōm Tyrē jah Seidonē* . . . (Mk. vii. 31) = "Departing from the *coasts or borders of Tyre and Sidon*." So also *land Akajē* = "Achaia"; *airþa Saúdaúmjē* = "the land of Sodom"; (but the Grk. too has γῆ Σοδόμων).

(xi) The adjs. *waírþa*-, "worthy"; *fulla*-, "full"; *lausa*-, "void"; *frija*-, "free"; and *framapi*-, "alien," often require a gen. to complete their sense; — so also do the verbs *fulljan*, "to fill," and *fullnan*, "to be filled"; as well as words of an opposite meaning; as: *þaúrban*, "to need," and *wan ist*, "there-is lack." These usages correspond to our own, — "worthy of," "full of," &c.

(xii) *Gamunan*, "to remember," takes its direct object sometimes in the gen. and sometimes in the accus. (but *ufarmunnōn*, "to forget," takes the dative).

(xiii) *Gahrainjan*, "to-cleanse"; *hailjan*, "to-make-whole"; *lēkinōn*, "to-heal"; and *skaman sik*, "to be ashamed"; take their remoter object in the gen., when they have one.

(xiv) As additional instances of verbs that take their direct object in the genitive (§ 87 (2, vi)) we may cite: *Hwazuh-saei saíhwip quinōn du lustōn izōs* . . . (Mt. v. 28) = "Whosoever looketh-at a-woman *to lust after-her* . . ."; — *Fraihna jah ik izwis ainis waúrdis* (Mk. xi. 29) = "I also *will-ask you one word* (i. e., *question*)"; — *Allai ainis stiklis brūkjam* (Cor. I. x. 17) = "We-all *partake of-one cup*."

(xv) Of the last-cited verb an impersonal passive once occurs with the gen. retained (compare the impers. pass. with the dat., § 91 (xvii)); viz.: *þatei ist all du riurein, þairh þatei is brukjaidau* (Col. ii. 22) = "Which is all *destined-to perish, through* (the mere fact) that *use-will-be-made thereof*."

(xvi) Examples of genitives diverted to adverbs have been given in § 82. Other genitive combinations are also

<sup>1</sup> In verse 22, indeed, the datives *Tyrim jah Seidonim*, "for the Tyrians and Sidonians," occur as sole equivalents of *Τυρρ καὶ Σιδῶνι*.

used adverbially, especially to indicate "whither," after verbs of motion; as: *Usleiþam jaínis stadis* (Mk. iv. 35) = "Let-us-pass-over *to-the-other shore*";—*Insandida ina haiþjōs seinaiþōs* (Lk. xv. 15) = "He-sent him *into-his field*."

(β) *Adjectives* (including *Participles*, in their adjectival character, the *Numerals*, and the *Article*).

### 93. General Rules.

(i) Adjectives, as shown in § 87, may be used attributively, prædicatively, or absolutely (*i. e.*, without an accompanying substantive); and they "agree" with the substantives they accompany or stand for in number, gender, and case.

(ii) Exceptions to such "agreement," as to number and gender, may occur when the meaning of the word qualified overrides the form. Thus, if this word be a "noun of multitude,"—as *managei* (fem. sing.), "people, multitude," or *hiuhma* (masc. sing.), "crowd,"—the accompanying adjective (generally a ptep.) is mostly in the masc. plur.; *e. g.*: *Was managei beidandans Zakariins* (Lk. i. 21) = "The people were *in-expectation-of-Zacharias*";—*Alla sō managei, gasaihwandans ina, . . .* (Mk. ix. 15) = "All the multitude, *seeing him, . . .*"

(iii) Much more rarely grammatical feminines are treated as masculines, or even (when denoting things) as neuters; and grammatical neuters (when suggesting persons) as masculines; *e. g.*: *Bigat unhulþōn* (f.) *usgangana* (m.) = "She found *the devil gone-out*" (Mk. vii. 30);—*Ei kanniþ* (n.) *wēsi handugei* (f.) *guþs* (Eph. iii. 10) = "That *the-wisdom of God might-be known*";—*Ni wairþiþ garahts* (m.) . . . *ainhun* (n.) *leikē* (Gal. ii. 16) = "*No flesh* (lit. *no one of-bodies*), *i. e.*, *no man . . . becometh just (= is justified)*." The adjs. (or pteps.) in these examples are all prædicative.

(iv) When an adj. refers to two or more specified substantives (or pronouns) of different genders it is put in the neuter plural; as: *Wēsunuh-þan garahts ba* (Lk. i. 6) = "And they (Zacharias and Elizabeth, just mentioned) were *both righteous*";—*Sa atta þeins jah ik winnandōna sōkidedum þuk* (ii. 48) = "Thy father and I *sorrowing* have sought thee."

(v) But Case-agreement is much stricter, and extends to words widely removed from one another; as: *Gōþ þus ist galeiþan in libain haltamma, . . . hamfamma, . . . haihamma . . .* (Mk. ix. 43, 45, 47) = "It is good *for-thee* to enter into life *lame, . . . maimed, . . . one-eyed . . .*"

(vi) The adjectives *midja-*, “mid,” and *halba-*, “half,” are used attributively, like the Latin *medio-*, *summo-*, &c., where we employ a corresponding abstract substantive; as: Bigētun ina sitandan in *midjaim* laisarjam (Lk. ii. 16) = “They found him sitting in the *midst* of the doctors”;—Giba þus und *halba* þiudangardja meina (Mk. vi. 23) = “I will give-it thee up-to the *half* of my kingdom.”

(vii) The place of attributive adjectives in Gothic is generally after their substantives; but they may precede when emphasis or sense requires; as: *Managōs* widuwōns wēsun in Israēla . . . (Lk. iv. 25) = “*Many* widows there-were in Israel . . .”;—but: Galuknōda himins du jēram þrim jah mēnōþs *saihs*, swē warþ hūhrus *mihils* (*ibid.*) = “Heaven was shut-up for *three* years and *six* months, so-that there-was a *great* famine.” The possessive adjectives, *meina-*, *þeina-*, &c., used attributively, nearly always follow their substantives.

(viii) Adverbs and phrases may be used (as in Greek) as adjectives; but when they precede the subst. they require the article; as: *Sō nu* Iērusalēm = “The Jerusalem *that-now-is*”;—*Sō iupa* Iērusalēm = “The J. *which-is-above*”;—*Sō nu* alds = “The *present* world”;—*Þai bi þata anþar* lustjus = “The lusts *of-other things*.” When a phrase follows the noun the art. may be wanting; as: *þō* garaihtein *us witōda* (Rom. x. 5) = “The righteousness (which is) *of the law*.”

(ix) The Greek is imitated on a more extensive scale in: *Meljan* insaht bi þōs *gafullaweisidōns-in-uns* waihtins (Lk. i. 1) = “To write an-account about the things (that are) *fully-believed-among-us*”;—and in: *Ei* gakunnais þizē *bi-þōei-galaisiþs-is* waúrdē astap (4) = “That thou-mayest-know the certainty of the doctrines *about-which-thou-hast-been-instructed*” (relative clause).

#### 94. Strong Adjectives (Vowel Declensions, §§ 54–57).

(i) Strong adjectives are used attributively when the substantive to be qualified is not limited by the article or otherwise; as: *Ni* mag bagms þiuþeigs akrana *ubila* gataujan (Mt. vii. 18) = “A *good* tree cannot produce *evil* fruit.”

(ii) Adjectives (purely such) used prædicatively are of the strong declension; as: *Braid* (ist) daúr jah *rums* (ist) wigs, . . . jah *managai* sind þai inn galeiþandans þairh þata (Mt. vii. 13) = “*Broad* is the gate and *wide* (lit. *roomy*) is the way, . . . and *many* are they-that-go-in through it.” Weak forms so used are of a substantival character, § 95 (iii).

(iii) Certain adjectives, pure or pronominal, are always strong; viz.: (a) the Cardinal Numerals (§ 61);—(b) the Ordinal *anþara-* (*ibid.*);—(c) the Possessives, *meina-*, *þeina-*, &c., and the pronominal *jaína-*, *hwaþara-*, *hwarja-*, *hwileika-*, *swaleika-*, *hwēlauda-*, *swalauða-*, *alla-*, and *suma-*, (§§ 63–68);—(d) the Adjectives *ganōha-*, *halba-*, *midja*, and *fulla-*. Most of these are precluded by their meaning from taking the article before them<sup>1</sup>. *Anþara-* and *swaleika-*, however, sometimes take it, but without changing their declension; e.g.: *Ni im swaswē þai anþarai mans* (Lk. xviii. 11) = “I am not as the other men”;—*þizē swaleikaizē* ist þiudangardi guþs (16) = “Of-such is the kingdom of God.”

(iv) Strong adjectives (without the article) may be used as substantives, but in a general and unrestricted sense; as: *Blindai* ussaihwand, *haltai* gangand, *baudai* gahausjand, *daupai* urreisand (Mt. xi. 5) = “Blind-people receive-sight, lame-people walk, deaf-people hear, dead-people arise.”

(v) Very rarely a substantival adj. appears in the strong form in a limited construction; as: *Managa leika þize ligandanē weihaizē urrisun* (Mt. xxvii. 52) = “Many bodies of the buried saints arose.”

## 95. Weak Adjectives (Consonant or *n* Declension, § 58).

(i) Weak adjectives appear when the substantive to be qualified is further limited, as by the article, or (rarely) by some other pronominal form, or even by the sense alone (e.g., *spēdista dags*, “the last day”).

(ii) Weak adjectives are very frequently used as substantives; thus: *þai weihans* = “the saints”; *sums blinda* = “a certain blind-man”; *þai blindans* = “the blind-men” (i.e., some particular men, not “blind people” generally: see § 94 (iv)); *Sa audaga jah ains mahteiga* (Tim. I. vi. 15), “the blessed-one and only potentate.”

(iii) The following, and one or two others, always appear without the article:—*alaparban-*, “(one) utterly destitute”; *fullawitan-*, “the perfect (man)”; *ingardjan-*, “one-of-a-household”; *usgrudjan-*, “a weary (one)”; *usfilman-*, “astonished”; *uswēnan-*, “(one) without hope.” These are nearly always used prædicatively.

(iv) When a weak adj. used attributively follows its substantive, the article generally goes with it; as: *þu is sunus meins sa liuba* (Mk. i. 11) = “Thou art my beloved son”;—

<sup>1</sup> The phrase *þō alla* (= τὰ πάντα) looks like an exception; but *þō* is really a pronoun and *alla* in apposition,—“these, all-of-them.” The art. that often follows *alla-* belongs to the accompanying subst. (§ 98 (vii)).

*pai ana airpai pizai gōdōn* . . . (Mk. iv. 20) = "Those on the good ground . . ." If, however, the article remains before the subst., it may or may not be repeated with the adj.; as: *Waurkjaip ni pana mat pana fralusanan* (John vi. 27) = "Work-not-for the meat that-is-perishable"; —*Ei mageip andstandan in pamma daga ubilin* (Eph. vi. 13) = "That ye may resist in the evil day." But sometimes the art. + a wk. adj. following a subst. are really equivalent to a second subst. in apposition; as: *Ip in spēdistin daga pamma mikilin dulpais stōp Iēsus* . . . (John vii. 37) = "Now in the last day, the great (day), of the feast, Jesus stood . . ."

(v) Certain categories of adjectives are always weak, whether with or without the article; viz.:

(a) All the Ordinal Numerals, except *unpara-* (§ 61 (2)).

(b) All adjectives in the Comparative Degree (§ 59 (1)).

(c) All the old Superlatives in *-man* (§ 59 (3)).

(d) The Present Participle, except in the N. s. m. (§ 60 (1): but see (viii) below).

(e) The quasi-pronominal *saman-*, "same," and *silban-*, "self."

(vi) In certain set combinations the wk. form of the adj. appears without the art.; as: *libains aiweinō*, "eternal life"; *fralusts aiweinō*, "eternal perdition"; *faírnjō jēr*, "last year"; *faírgunī alēwjō*, lit., "olive mountain," i. e., "the Mount of Olives."

(vii) Adjectives in the vocative, whether with or without a substantive, are nearly always weak; as: *Laisari piu-peiga*, "good master!"—*liubans*, "dearly-beloved!"—*ahma unhrainja*, "thou unclean spirit!" But (very exceptionally): *pu ahma, pu unrōdjands jah baups!* (Mk. ix. 25) = "Thou spirit, thou deaf and dumb (one)!"—*Faginō, anstai auda-hafta!* (Lk. i. 28) = "Rejoice, thou-blest with-grace!"

(viii) The N. s. m. of the pres. ptep. preceded by the art. is generally (but not always) weak when it is equivalent to a clause; as: *pu is sa quimanda?* "Art thou he that-should-come?"—*Sa afar mis ganganda* . . ., "He that-cometh after me . . ." (But also: *Sa iupaþrō quimands* . . ., "he that-cometh from-above . . ."; &c.)

## 96. The Degrees of Adjectives.

(i) The Dative is used after the Comparative where we use "than" + a nominative (§ 91 (xi, b)).

(ii) When comparison extends from one instance to another of any oblique case, *pau*, "than," must come between; as: *Sutizō ist Saúdaúnjam* . . . *pau pizai baúrg*

*jainai* (Mk. vi. 11) = "It shall-be more-tolerable *for-the-people-of-Sodom . . . than for-that-city*;"—Nibai managizō (neut. s.) wairþip *izwaraizōs garaihteins þau* (*garaihteins*) þizē bōkarjē jah faraisaiē . . . (Mt. v. 20) = "Unless there-shall-be *more of-your righteousness than (of-the-righteousness)* of the scribes and pharisees . . ."

(iii) In the case of *mais*, "more" + the positive (*Gōþ* ist imma *mais* . . . (Mk. ix. 42) = "It-is *better* for-him . . ."), we ought perhaps to translate *mais* by "rather" ("It-is good for-him, *rather* that . . ."). This is the proper rendering in Mk. v. 26 (where, however, *mais* accompanies a comparative adv.),— . . ak *mais* wairs habaida, "but *rather* found-herself worse."

(iv) More remarkable is the use of *mais* with the comparative of adjectives, forming a sort of double comparative; as: Niu jus *mais wulþrizans* sijup þaim? (Mt. vi. 26) = "Are ye not *better*, of *more consequence*, than they?"—þanei gakausidēdum . . filaus *mais usdaudōzan* (Cor. II. viii. 22) = "Whom we have proved (to be) . . much *more diligent*." (But one codex has simply *filu usd*.)

(v) In the following, on the other hand, the comparative seems to have (as in the Grk.) a superlative force:—Sa *minniza* in þindangardjai himinē . . (Mt. xi. 11, Lk. vii. 28) = "The *least* in the kingdom of heaven . . ." (Grk. ὁ μικρότερος).

### 97. The Numerals.

(i) The partitive genitive accompanies numerals which denote some out of a larger total (§ 92 (v)),—the numerals themselves being then used pronominally; but when a numeral and its substantive are coextensive, the numeral becomes merely attributive; as: Ni wasjaiþ *twaim paidōm* (Mk. vi. 9) = "Do not clothe (yourselves) *with-two coats*";—Habaidēdun *fiskans fawans* (viii. 7) = "They had *a-few fishes*";—Gawaúrkjaima *hleiprōs þrins* (Lk. ix. 33) = "Let-us-make *three tents*."

(ii) The uses of *aina-* otherwise than as a strict numeral should be noted. Examples: Duatrinlands *ains* . . = "*A-certain-man* running-up . . .";—Ni bi hlaib *ainana* libaiþ manna (Lk. iv. 4) = "Man liveth not by bread *alone*";<sup>1</sup>—þanzei ni skuld ist matjan, nibai *ainaim* (pl.) gudjam (vi. 4) = "Which (loaves) it is not lawful to eat, except for-the-priests *only*";—Rōdida sis *ains* . . (vii. 39) = "He-said to-

<sup>1</sup> I can find no trace of the weak declension assigned by some grammarians to *aina-* when it means "alone."

himself *alone*” (where *ains* agrees with the nom. involved in the verb). The combinations *ains jah sa sama* (masc.), *ain jah þata samō* (neut.), are identical with our “one and the same.”

(iii) Grammarians have established a difference between *bai* and *bajōþs*: *bai* is used of pairs of persons or things of like kind; such as married couples; two blind men; two debtors; &c.: *bajōþs* is used of unlike persons or things brought into passing connexion; e. g.: *Wēsunn þan garaht ba* (Lk. i. 6) = “And they were *both* (Zacharias and Elizabeth) righteous”;—but: *Wein jungata in balgins niujans giutand, jah bajōþs gafastanda* (Lk. v. 38) = “Men-pour new (lit., young) *wine* into new *skins* (lit., bags), and *both* (wine and skins) are preserved.”

98. The *Article*<sup>1</sup> belongs historically to the demonstrative pronouns (§ 64): syntactically it must be put with the adjectives; for it is a satellite of the substantive, with which, in each instance, it agrees in gender, number, and case.

(i) The article implies a certain specialization of the substantive; but not a mere individualization: hence the Go. art. is often absent where the English art. is required; as: *Stibna wōpjandins in auþidai*: *Manweiþ wig frauþins . . .* (Mk. i. 3) = “*The* voice of-one-crying in *the* wilderness: Prepare-ye *the* way of *the* Lord . . .”

(ii) A few substantives that approximate to proper names also appear without the article; such are: words for “God” (*gub, frauja, atta*); “the-sun” (*sunno*); “earth,” “heaven,” “hell” (*airþa, himins, halja*); “death” (*daupus*); and “day,” “night,” (*dags, nahts*), except when they denote a particular day or night.

(iii) When a person or thing has been once mentioned, the article is used at any subsequent mention, even though the substantive employed may differ; e. g.: *Jah suns ahma ina ustauh in auþidai*; *jah was in þizai auþidai dagē fidwōrtiguns* (Mk. i. 12, 13) = “And forthwith the spirit led him out into (the) *desert*; and he was in *the* desert forty days”;—*Daupiþ was fram Iōhannē in Iaurdanē*; *jah, usgangands us þamma watin . . .* (9, 10) = “He was baptized by John in *Jordan*; and, coming-up out-of *the water* . . .” The subsequent subst. may even be implied in a preceding verb; as: *Galeiþands in synagōgēn laisida ins, . . . jah usfilmans waúrþun ana þizai laiseinai* (21, 22) = “Going into the

<sup>1</sup> The article means the *definite* article: there is no *indefinite* article in Gothic: *aina-* and *suma-* mean “one,” “a certain one.”

synagogue he *taught* them, . . . and they were astonished at *the teaching*."

(iv) But some well-known and frequently-mentioned names take the article on their first occurrence in any passage; such are: *sō alhs*, "the temple"; *sō baúrgs*, "the city" (i. e., Jerusalem); *þai fareisaieis*, "the pharisees"; *þai bōkaryōs*, "the scribes"; *þai sipōnjōs*, "the disciples."

(v) When a subst. is qualified by a relative clause, or by a phrase equivalent thereto, it generally takes the art.; as: *Insailidēdun þata badi ana þammei lag sa usliþa* (Mk. ii. 4) = "They fastened-ropes-to *the* bed on *which* lay the palsied-man";—*Drinkats þana stikl þanei ik drinka* (x. 39) = "Ye-two-shall-drink-of *the* cup *that* I drink of"; (but in 38 the art. is not used.) Qualifying phrases are generally participial, occasionally prepositional; and both kinds are generally rendered in English by a relative clause; as: *Sō bauandei in mis frawaurhts* (Rom. vii. 17) = "The sin *that-dwelleth in* me";—*Sō garaihtei us witōda . . . sō us galaubeinai garaihtei* (x. 5, 6) = "The righteousness (*which is*) of the law . . . the righteousness (*which is*) of faith."

(vi) The article accompanies participles used as substantives, e. g.: *þai galaubjandans*, "believers";—*þans fralusanans*, "them *that-are-lost*";—*þata utgangandō us mann . . . þata inngangandō in mannan* (Mk. vii. 15, 18), "*that which-cometh-out out-of* a man . . . *that which-goeth-in* into a man." So also the set phrases: *þata anafulhanō*, "that *which-is-handed-on*" = "tradition";—*þata gamēlidō* (but also *þata gameliþ*), "that *which-is-written*" = "the scriptures";—*þata quiþanō*, "that *which-was-spoken*," plur. *þō quiþanōna*.

(vii) The article generally accompanies *alla-* (except when this is used quasi-partitively); *jaína-* when it follows its subst.; superlatives; and sometimes possessives; as: *Alla sō managei*, "*All (of) the (= the whole) multitude*";—*Ni mag standan sa gards jaíns*, "*That house cannot stand*";—*Ufrakei þō handu þeina*, "*Stretch forth thy hand*";—*Sa smalista apaústaúlē*, "*the least of-the-apostles*."

(viii) The art. frequently accompanies titular substs. in apposition; as: *Iōhannēs sa daupjands*, "*John the Baptist*"; *Hērōdēs sa taítrarkes*, "*Herod the tetrarch*"; &c. But when the two substs. form as it were a single appellation, the art. may be wanting; as: *þiudans Hērōdēs*, "*King Herod*"; *Teibairius kaisar*, "(the) *Emperor Tiberius*"; *Esaeias praúfētus*, "(the) *prophet Isaiah*"; &c.

(ix) The ellipsis of *sumu-* in,—*Iakōbu þana Zaíbaídaiaus*, "*James the-son of-Zebedee*";—*Laíwwi þana Alfaiaus*, "*Levi the-son of Alphaeus*," &c.,—agrees with the Grk. idiom.



(x) The neuter *pata* (like Grk. τό) introduces infinitive phrases and subordinate clauses; as: *pata* du frijōn ina us allamma haírtin . . . (Mk. xii. 33) = "*To love him* with the whole heart . . ." (τὸ ἀγαπᾶν . . .);—Iēsus quap du inma, *pata* jabai mageis galaubjan . . . (ix. 23) = "Jesus said unto him, if thou canst believe . . ." (. . . τό, εἰ δύνασαι πιστεῦσαι . . .);—Gabandwidēdun attin is, *pata* hwaiwa wildēdi haitan ina (Lk. i. 62) = "They made-signs to his father, (inquiring) how he wished him to-be-named" (. . . τὸ τί ἂν θέλοι . . .).

(xi) In a series of two or more substantives of different genders the art. is repeated; as: Hwis ist *sa* manleika jah *sō* ufarmeleins? (Mk. xii. 16) = "Whose is *the* portrait and *the* superscription?" But if the substs. are of the same gender, the usage varies,—sometimes, probably, according as they denote one or more than one group of persons; as: Quam managei fram *paim* auhumistam gudjam jah bōkarjam jah sinistam (Mk. xiv. 43) = "There-came a multitude from *the* chief priests and scribes and elders";—but: Frēhun ina *pai* fareisaieis jah *pai* bōkarjōs . . . (vii. 5) = "*The* pharisees and *the* scribes asked him . . ."

(xii) Very rarely the art. occurs with a proper noun; as: Ik haba weitwōdīpa maizein *pamma* Iōhannē (John v. 36) = "I have greater testimony than *John*." Such a usage appears sometimes to imply contempt,—*Sa Barabbas*, accus. *panu Barabban*, "this Barabbas" (Mk. xv. 15, John xviii. 40).

### (γ) Pronouns.

99. *General Rules*.—(i) Pronouns naturally have the same gender, number, and person as the substantives they stand for; but their cases are determined by their functions—subjective, objective, or what not—in their own clauses.

(ii) The Vocative is confined to the second persons,—persons addressed being *ipso facto* of the second person.

(iii) As in the case of adjectives (§ 93 (ii)), so the agreement of pronouns with substantives is perturbed when the meaning of the latter prevails over the form; as: Infeinōda du pizai *managein* (fem. s.) . . . jah jabai fralēta *ins* (m. pl.) . . . = "I-have-compassion upon *the multitude* . . . and if I send *them* away . . ." (Mk. viii. 2, 3);—Ei ni gangaiþ swaswē jah anþarōs *þiudōs* (fem.) gangand . . . *þaiei* (m. rel.) sik silbans atgēhun aglaitein (Eph. iv. 17, 19) = "That ye-walk not as also other *gentile-nations* walk . . . *who* have-given-over themselves to uncleanness."

(iv) The neuters *pata* and *hwa* followed by *ist* + a subst. are used (like our *this*, *that*, *what*) irrespectively of the

gender of the subst.; as: Niu *pata* ist sa timrja? (Mk. vi. 3) = "Is not *this* the carpenter?"—Ei mageiþ gafahan *hwa* sijai braidei jah langei . . . (Eph. iii. 18) = "That ye may comprehend *what* is the breadth and the length . . ."

(v) But if emphasis is to be thrown on the pronoun the proper gender reappears; as: Bi sunjai guþs sunus ist *sa* (Mt. xxvii. 54) = "Of a truth *this-man* is God's son";—*Hwas* þannu sa sijai? (Mk. iv. 41) = "*Who* then can this-man be?"

(vi) Where we, in English, use one pronoun prædicatively to another, the Gothic, like the Greek, omits the former; as: *Sa ist*, bi þanei gamēliþ ist . . . (Lk. vii. 27) = "*This is* (*he*) about whom it is written . . .";—Quaþ im Iēsus, *Ik im* (John xviii. 5, 6, 8) = "Jesus said unto them, *I am* (*he*)."

(vii) If a pronoun stands for two substantives of different genders it is put in the neut. plur. (cf. § 93 (iv) above); as: Miþþanei þō wēsun jāinar . . . (Lk. ii. 6) = "While *they* (Joseph and Mary) were there . . .";—Sijaina þō *twa* du leika samin (Mk. x. 8) = "*Those two* (the man and the wife) shall become one flesh."

#### 100. The *Personal* and *Demonstrative* Pronouns.

(i) A subjective pronoun is involved in the verb alone (§ 87 (1, ii)). But if the verb be suppressed, a pronoun is used; as: Wainags *ik* manna! = E. V., "Wretched man *that I am*!"

(ii) When different parties, already once mentioned, appear in succession in the narrative, one or the other (if not both) is generally represented by a pronoun; as: (Hērōdēs) swōrizai . . . iþ *si* usgangandei quaþ . . . (Mk. vi. 23, 24) = "(Herod) swore to her . . . and *she* going out said . . ."

(iii) Pronouns are used in antitheses; as: *Ik* daupja izwis in watin; iþ *is* daupeiþ izwis in ahmin weihamma (i. 8) = "*I* baptize you in water; but *he* will-baptize you in the holy spirit";—Ni *jus mik* gawalidēduþ, ak *ik* gawalida izwis (John xv. 16) = "Ye have not chosen *me*, but *I* have chosen *you*."

(iv) The unemphatic pronoun *is*, *si*, *ita* (= Lat. *is*, *ea*, *id*) may occupy positions to which, in Latin, *hic*, *iste*, or *ille* would be assigned. *Is* is even used for *different* persons spoken of in succession, where a change of pronoun might be expected; as: Iþ *is* dugann mērjan filu . . . swaswē *is* ni mahta in baúrg galeiþan (Mk. i. 45) = "But *he* (the leper) began to-publish-it widely . . . so that *he* (Jesus) could not enter into the city" (but Grk. *ó . . . αὐτὸν . . .*);—Biþē *is*

anakumbida in garda *is* . . . (ii. 15) = "As *he* (Jesus) reclined-at-table in *his* (Levi's) house . . ."

(v) Contrariwise, *is* and *sa* are sometimes used in succession for the *same* person or persons; as: Urraisida *pō*, undgreipands handu *izōs* (Mk. i. 31) = "He raised *her* up, taking-hold-of *her* hand";—Gasakands *im* ni lailōt *pōs* rōdjan (Lk. iv. 41) = "Rebuking *them*, he suffered *them* not to speak."

(vi) The simple demonstrative, *sa*, &c., frequently appears in the emphatic position at the end of a clause; as: Hwa sōkeiþ miþ *þaim?* (Mk. ix. 16) = "Why dispute-ye with *them?*"—Duhwē weis ni mahtēdum usdreiban *þana?* (28) = "Why could we not expel *that-one?*"

(vii) *Sa* is also used to introduce a phrase; as: Nin ussungwup aiw hwa gatawida Daweid, . . . is jah *þai miþ imma?* (Mk. ii. 25) = "Have ye never read what David did, . . . he and *those with him?*"—*þai wiþra wig* sind *þai* hausjandans . . . (Lk. viii. 12) = "*Those by the wayside* are the hearers . . ."

(viii) *Sah*, *sōh*, *þatuh*, being merely = *sa*, &c., + *uh*, are not essentially emphatic; and, indeed, may often be best rendered by "and this," "and that," "and he," &c.; as *þatuh* þan quap bi ahman (John vii. 39) = "*And-this* moreover he spake with-reference-to the spirit";—*þammuh* daúrwards uslūkiþ (x. 3) = "*And-to-him* the porter openeth."

(ix) In virtue of this meaning *sah* is often used as the equivalent of a relative; as: . . . Lazarus, *sah* atwaúrpan was du daúra is (Lk. xvi. 20) = " . . . Lazarus, *who* (lit., and *he*) was laid at his gate";— . . . taíhun þrutsillai mans, *þaih* gastōþun fairraþrō (xvii. 12) = " . . . ten leprous men, *who* (lit., and *they*) stood afar-off."

(x) *Sah*, with or without *þan*, is emphatic when it sums up, as it were, a preceding phrase or clause, or points to a following one; as: Saei sandida mik atta, *sah* weitwōdeiþ bi mik (John v. 37) = "The father that sent me, *he* beareth-witness about me";—*Sōh* þan ist sō aiweinō libains, ei kunneina þuk ainana sunjana guþ . . . (John xvii. 3) = "And *this* is the (aforesaid) everlasting life (viz.), that they-know thee the only true God . . ." Yet the simple *sa* may also be so used; as: Saei waúrkeiþ wiljan guþs, *sa* brōþar meins ist (Mk. iii. 35) = "Whoso doeth God's will, *he* is my brother."

(xi) *Jaina*-, like *ἐκεῖνο*- and Lat. *illo*-, is the demonstrative of the distant (third personal) object, whether in actual or imaginary space or time; as: Ip *jaínaim*, þaim uta, in gajukōm allata waírþiþ (Mk. iv. 11) = "But *for-yonder-people*, (namely) those without, everything is-done in parables."—

Besides its pronominal use, it may either precede or follow a substantive; in the one case the subst. does not, in the other it does, take the article; as: Jah þan fastand, in *jaínamma daga* (Mk. ii. 20) = "And then shall-they-fast, in *that* day";—Ni mag standan sō þiudangardi *jaína* (iii. 24) = "*That* kingdom cannot stand."

### 101. The intensives *saman-* and *silban-*.

(i) The construction of *saman-* closely resembles that of *same* in English: the latter, however, is always accompanied by the article; the former generally, but not quite always; thus we find: Sijaina þō twa du leika *samin* (Mk. x. 8) = "They two shall-become *the-same* flesh";—Ei *samō* hugjaima jah *samō* frapjaima (Phil. iii. 16) = "That we-may-think *the-same-thing* and mind *the-same-thing*." (See also § 97 (ii).)

(ii) *Silban-* is always either actually or virtually appositional; actually in: ik *silba*, "I (*my-*)*self*"; sik *silban*, "him (*him-*)*self*"; Daweid *silba*, "David (*him-*)*self*"; Af mis *silbin*, "of *my-self*" (formerly<sup>1</sup> "*me self*"); &c.;—virtually in: *Silba* faúraquimiþ in mahtai Haíleĩns (Lk. i. 17) = "*He-himself* shall come-before (Christ) in the power of Elias"; and the like (the personal pron. being implied in the verb).

(iii) Its genitives are used with the possessives *meina-*, *þeina-*, &c., just as, in Latin, *ipsius* is used with *meo-*, *tuo-*, &c.; e. g.: *þeina silbōns* saiwala þáirhgangiþ háirus (Lk. ii. 35) = "A sword shall pierce *thine own* soul" (*tuam ipsius animam* . . .); —Waurstw *sein silbins* kinsai hwarjizuh (Gal. vi. 4) = "Each-man should-test *his own* work" (*suum ipsius opus* . . .).

(iv) *Silban-* may further render *αὐτοματο-* = *sponte suā*, "of its own accord"; e. g.: *Silbō* airþa akran baírþ (Mk. iv. 28) = "The earth beareth fruit *of-itself*."<sup>2</sup>

(v) In *þata silbō*, "the self-same-thing," lit., "that-thing itself," *silbō* is still in apposition, *þata* being the pronoun, not the art.: so in the phrases: in *þamma silbin* (Rom. xiii. 6), "in this very thing";—du *þamma silbin* (ix. 17), "for this very purpose."

### 102. The *Reflexive* Pronoun; and the substitutes for a *Reciprocal*.

(i) *Sik* stands as accusative to a verb or verbal when that

<sup>1</sup> Frequently, e. g., in the Sonnets of Sir Philip Sidney.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Virgil's

"*Ipsae* lacte domum referent distenta capellae  
Ubera."

accusative has to denote the same person or thing as the subject of the clause, whether principal or subordinate, in which the verb occurs, or to which the verbal is attached;—*Sis* stands as indirect, and rarely as direct, objective to a verb or verbal under precisely the same conditions: it may also occur in various kinds of phrases attached to a clause; but must still refer to the subject of the clause (See the examples in (iii) below);—*Seina*, as was shown in § 63, is genitive to *sik*, *sis*, and also (in a declinable form) a possessive adj. No clear example of it in the former capacity occurs in Ulf.; when it appears in the latter capacity, the substantive it qualifies must denote some person or thing appertaining to the person or thing denoted by the subject. It follows that, of the adjectival *seina*-, the nominatives are not in use; for the substantive it qualifies is necessarily in the A., D., or G. case. To qualify substantives in any other than the reflexive relationship a genitive of a personal or demonstrative noun must be used (§ 63).

(ii) *Sik*, *sis*, *seina*-, therefore, in point of syntax, generally run parallel to the Latin *se*, *sibi*, *suo*-. Like these they stand for all genders; and just as these are frequently strengthened by *ipso*-, so are those by *silban*- (See preceding §). But in Gothic the logical restrictions, given in (i) above, are much more rigidly observed than in Latin'; and, with one or two exceptions (See (iv) below), a pronoun referring to a substantive or pronoun outside its clause, or to any other substantive or pronoun than the subject within its clause, is always a personal or demonstrative. Examples: *Jah sunsaiw Iēsus ufkunþa in sis silbin þō us sis maht usgangandein*; (*jah*) *gawandjands sik in managein quap . . .* (Mk. v. 30) = "And immediately Jesus perceived *within himself* the power going *out-of himself*; (and) turning *himself* round in the multitude said . . .": in 33, however, we read: *Sō quinō, witandei þatei warþ bi ija, quam . . .* = "The woman, knowing what had-happened with-respect-to *her*, came . . ." (*ija*, not *sik*, because it falls in the clause whose subject is *þatei*<sup>2</sup>);—*Jah Iēsus aflaiþ miþ sipōnjam seinaim du marein*; . . . *jah quap þaim siponjam seinaim . . .* (iii. 7, 9) = "And Jesus departed with *his* disciples to the sea; . . . and he said to *his* disciples . . ."

(iii) In phrases, however lengthy, as distinct from clauses, the reflexive relationship to the nominative is nearly always

<sup>1</sup> Such constructions, e. g., as: "A *Caesare* . . . invitor *sibi* ut sim legatus"; would not pass in Gothic.

<sup>2</sup> Here again the Latin would show the reflexive ("quum sciret (id) quod *in se* factum fuerat").

strictly maintained; as: *Jah auk þai frawaurhtans þans frijōndans sik frijōnd* (Lk. vi. 32) = "For the sinners also love those-that-love *them*";—*Quaþ þan (Iōhannēs) du þaim atgandaim manageim daupjan fram sis . . .* (iii. 7) = "And John said to the multitudes that-came to-be-baptized by *him . . .*"

(iv) The one or two instances in which the personal stands for the reflexive, and *vice versā*, are quite exceptional; as: *Wairþs (ist) sa waurstwa mizdōns is* (Tim. I. v. 18) = "Worthy (is) the workman of *his* wage";—and reversely, *Distahida mikilþūhtans gahugdai hārtius seinis* (Lk. i. 51) = "He (God) hath scattered the proud in the imagination of *their* heart." In: *Gasaihwandei Paítru warmjandan sik, quaþ . . .* (Mk. xiv. 67) = "Seeing Peter warming *himself*, she said . . .,"—*warmjan-sik* was perhaps looked upon as equivalent to a simple verb (See § 106 (iv) below); and again, the reflexive in an absolute phrase (§ 87 (6, v)) cannot be called exceptional, such phrases being really clauses; *e. g.*: *Usgangandin imma jáinþrō miþ sipōnjam seinaim . . .* (Mk. x. 46) = "He going-out from-thence with *his* disciples . . ."

(v) For the 1st and 2nd persons sing., dual, and plur., the various oblique cases of the personal pronouns (nearly always accompanied by *silban-*) may be used reflexively; as: *Ik gabaírhtja imma mik silban* (John xiv. 21) = "I will-manifest *myself* to him";—*Ni uns silbans mērjam* (Cor. II. iv. 5) = "We preach not *ourselves*";—*Ei ni sijaiþ in izwis silbam frōdai* (Rom. xi. 25) = "That ye-be not wise in *yourselves*" (E.V. "in your own conceits");—*Nasei þuk silban* (Mk. xv. 30) = "Save *thyself*!" (Compare 31; and also xii. 31 & 33.)

(vi) But persons or things denoted by a plural subject may be spoken of as acting upon one another. This "reciprocal" action is generally expressed in Gothic by the adverb *missō*, "reciprocally," mostly preceded, but once or twice followed, by an oblique case of the reflexive or of a personal pronoun, or even by a possessive; as: *Sōkidēdun miþ sis missō* (Mk. i. 27) = "They questioned with *one another*";—*Jus skuluþ izwis missō* (dat.) *þwahan fōtuns* (John xiii. 14) = "Ye ought to wash *one another's* feet," or lit., "the feet *for one another*";—*Ni wairþaima flautai, uns missō ushaitandans, missō in neiþa wisandans* (Gal. v. 26) = "Let us not be vain-glorious, provoking *one another*, envying *one another*," lit., "being reciprocally in a-state-of-envy";—*Izwarōs missō kaúriþōs baíraiþ* (vi. 2) = "Bear-ye *one another's* burdens."

(vii) A stricter individualization is occasionally attempted by using *anþara-* twice; *e. g.*: *Untē sijum anþar anþaris*

lipus (Eph. iv. 25) = "For we-are members *one of-another*" (but *lipus* sing., in agreement with *anpar*);—... *anpar anparana munands sis auhuman* (Phil. ii. 3) = "... *one thinking another superior to-himself.*"

### 103. The *Relative* Pronouns.

(i) A Relative has a conjunctional, in addition to its pronominal, character: it introduces the clause to which it belongs, and at the same time attaches this clause adjectivally to some substantival factor (its "antecedent") of another clause (§ 87 (4, v)).

(ii) The relative derives its gender, number, and person from its "antecedent": its case depends upon its relationship to the verb in its own clause; as: Sai, smakkabagnis (nom.) *paneī* (acc.) fraquast gaṇāṇsnōda (Mk. xi. 21) = "Lo, the fig-tree *which* thou-cursedst has-withered-away."

(iii) But the subordinate (adjectival) clause introduced by a relative may precede the principal clause; e. g.: *paneī* insandida jāins *ṣammuh* jus nī galaubeiṣ (John v. 38) = "Whom he sent, *on-him* ye believe not" (*quem* . . . , *huic* . . . ; *ὃν* . . . , *τούτῳ* . . . );—*ṣateī* gasahw . . . *ṣata* weitwōdeīṣ (iii. 32) = "What he hath seen . . . *that* he testifieth." (See § 100 (x).)

(iv) The foregoing construction is preferred when a relative is attached to a demonstrative: the reverse order has a much feebler effect; as: *ṣō ṣōeī* leikis sind mitōnd (Rom. viii. 5) = "They do-mind *the-things which* are of the flesh."

(v) In preference to this feeble construction, we generally find the demonstrative suppressed: the relative clause thus becomes substantival instead of adjectival, and discharges, in the principal clause, the syntactic function of the suppressed antecedent; as: *Ip sō* quinō, witandei *ṣateī*-warṣ-bi-ija . . . (Mk. v. 33) = "But the woman, knowing *what*-had-happened-respecting-her." Here *ṣateī*=*ṣata* (acc.) + *ṣateī* (nom.), just as our *what*=*that* + *which*; and the subordinate clause stands objectively to *witandei*.

(vi) When, in this form of clause, the relative and the suppressed antecedent should be in different *oblique* cases, the relative may be either in the case required by the verb of its own clause or in that required by the verb of the principal clause; as: Wait atta izwar *ṣizeī*-jus-ṣāurbuṣ (Mt. vi. 8) = "Your father knows *whereof*- (or *of-what*-) ye-have-need,"—i. e., *ṣata ṣizeī*, "that of which," &c. (*ṣizeī*, gen. by *ṣāurbuṣ*);—but: Hwa wileiṣ ei taujau *ṣammeī*-quiṣiṣ-ṣiudan-Iudaiē? (Mk. xv. 12) = "What will-ye that I-do *to-him-whom*-ye-call-king-of-the-Jews?"—i. e., *ṣamma* (D. by *taujaui*) *paneī*.

(vii) Substantival clauses thus arising may be subordinated to ("governed" by) prepositions; as: *Ni waiht ufar þatei-garaid-sijai-izwis lausjaiþ* (Lk. iii. 13) = "Demand nothing *over-and-above what-is-appointed-you*";—... *ni ufar þatei-gameliþ-ist fraþþau* (Cor. I. iv. 6) = "... not to-be-wise *above what-is-written*."

(viii) The real antecedent is sometimes, as in Latin and Greek, thrown into the relative clause, assuming the case of, and being qualified by, the relative; *e.g.*: *Salida in þammei* was *stada* (John xi. 6) = lit., "He abode *in-what-place* he was" (= "in the place in which,"—Lat. *in quo erat loco* = *ἐν ᾧ ἦν τόπος*);—*Etun jah drunkun* . . . und *þanei dag* galaiþ *Nauei in arka* (Lk. xvii. 27) = "They ate and they drank . . . *up-to what-day* Noah entered into the ark" (= "up-to the day on which").

(ix) More frequently it is preferred to resolve the relative into a demonstrative + the relative particle *ei*, and to make the demonstr. qualify the antecedent in its proper clause; as: *Sijais þahands und þana dag ei wairþai þata* (Lk. i. 20) = "Thou-shalt-be speechless up-to *that day that* (or, *on-which*) this shall come-to-pass."

(x) Immediately after the demonstrative *sa* the minor relative *izei* (*izē*) is generally preferred; as: *Niu mahta sa, izei* uslauk augōna þamma blindin, gataujan ei . . . (John xi. 37) = "Could not *this-man, who* opened the blind-man's eyes, bring-it-to-pass that . . ."

(xi) This feebler relative is a singular in form (§ 65 (2)): it may, however, be used also for the plural, and is then generally strengthened by a demonstrative, which may agree either with it or with its antecedent; as: *Atsaíhwip faúra liugnpraufētum þaim izei* quimand at izwis . . . (Mt. vii. 15) = "Beware of false prophets, *of-them who* come to you . . .";—*Sind sumai þizē hēr standandanē þai izē* ni kausjand dauþaus . . . (Mk. ix. 1) = "There-are some of those standing here *who* shall-not-taste of-death . . ." *þai izei*, in such instances, differs imperceptibly, if at all, from *þaiei*.

(xii) Examples of the use of the relatives of the first and second persons (§ 65 (3) above):—*Ik silba Paulus bidja izwis* . . . , *ikei* hauns im in izwis (Cor. II. x. 1) = "I myself, Paul, beseech you . . . , (I) *who* am lowly among you";—*þu* is sunus meins sa liuba, in *þuzei* waila galeikaida (Mk. i. 11) = "Thou art my beloved son, in *whom* I am well pleased" (anteced. ∴ *þu*, not *sunus*);—*Jus sijup þuzei* garaihtans dōmeiþ izwis (Lk. xvi. 15) = "Ye are (they) *who* justify yourselves" (lit., "adjudge yourselves righteous": see § 90 (ix));—*Hwas izwis afhugida* . . . ,—*izwizei* faúra augam Iēsus



Xristus faúrameliþs was . . . ? (Gal. iii. 1) = "Who hath-bewitched you,— . . . (you) before *whose* eyes Jesus Christ was set-forth?" (lit., "*to whom* before (your) eyes": see § 91 (vi)).

(xiii) But *ik* is sometimes followed by *saei* instead of *ikei*: the relative seems then intended to convey the notion of "one-who," "a-man-that," or the like; although the following verb is still of the 1st person; *e.g.*: Ik im *saei* weitwōdja bi mik silban (John viii. 18) = "I am *one-that* bear witness about myself" (= "*a-man-that* beareth");—Austai guþs (ik) im *saei* im (Cor. I. xv. 10) = "By-the-grace of-God I-am *the-man-that* I-am." These *saei*-clauses are substantival and prædicative, whereas in all the extant instances with *ikei* the relative clause is adjectival to *ik*.

(xiv) The relative conjunctions, *parei*, *þanei*, and even *þau*, which are generally adverbial, may, like our "where" and "when," be attached directly to substantives denoting place or time, and may thus introduce adjectival clauses; as: Wairþiþ in þamma stada *parei* quiþada im . . . (Rom. ix. 26) = "It-shall-come-to-pass in the place *where* (= *in which*) it-is-said unto-them . . .";—Quimiþ nahts *þanei* ni manna mag waurkjan (John ix. 4) = "Night cometh, *when* (= *in which*) no man can work";—Atgangand dagōs þan afnimada af im sa brufþaþs (Mk. ii. 20) = "The-days are-approaching *when* (= *in which*) the bridegroom shall-be-taken-away from them."

(xv) The conjunction *patei* is identical in form with the neuter relative. (See (v) above), and probably *is* the latter diverted to a more distinctly conjunctival use. Like our equivalent *that*, it introduces substantival clauses after verbs of saying, telling, thinking, seeing, hearing, and the like; as: Dugann laisjan ins *patei* skal sunus mans filu winnan (Mk. viii. 31) = "He began to teach them *that* the son of man is-bound to suffer much." The Gothic follows the Greek in making *patei* = ὅτι introduce direct speech; as: Quēmun . . . quiþandans *patei* Dauhtrar þeina gaswalt (Mk. v. 35) = "They came . . . saying, Thy daughter is-dead";— . . . quiþands du imma *patei* Jabai wileis magt mik gahrainjan (i. 40) = ". . . saying to him, If thou-wilt thou-canst cleanse me." (See also § 108 (3).)

(xvi) When a verb or verbal in the main clause takes a dative or genitive as its direct object (§§ 87 (2, vi), 91 (xiii), 92 (xiv)), *þammei* or *þizei* appears conjunctionally instead of *patei*; as: Ip ains þizē, *gaumjands* þammei-hrains-warþ . . . (Lk. xvii. 15) = "And one of them, *perceiving that*-he-was-cleansed . . .";—Laisari, niu *kara* (ist) þuk þizei-fra-

quistnam? (Mk. iv. 38) = "Master, carest thou not *that*-we-perish?" (For *kara þuk*, see § 90 (vii).) A *þammei*-clause may even follow a preposition; as: *Ip faginōþ in þammei namna izwara gamēlida sind in himinam* (Lk. x. 20) = "But rejoice *in the-fact-that* (= because) your names are written in heaven."

104. The *Interrogative, Distributive, and Indefinite* Pronouns.

(i) The Interrogatives may be used partitively; as: *Hwarjamma izē wairþiþ quēns?* (Mk. xii. 23) = "*To-which-one of-them* shall-she-be wife?" (§ 92(v).)

(ii) But they are more often used independently; as: *Hwō ist sō aiþei meina?* (Mk. iii. 33) = "*Who* is my mother?" — *Hwarja ist allaizō anabusnē frumista?* (xii. 28) = "*Which-one* is foremost of all the commandments?"

(iii) The neuter *hwa*, like *τί* or Lat. *quid*, is sometimes = "why?"; as: *Hwa þanamais draibeis þana laisari?* (Mk. v. 35) = "*Why* troublest thou the master any further?"

(iv) In conditional and other clauses *hwas*, *hwa*, like *τις*, *τι*, or *quis*, *quid* (= *aliquis*, *aliquid*), are often used indefinitely = "any one," "anything"; as: *Jabai hwas ahman Xristaus ni habaiþ, sa nist is* (Rom. viii. 9) = "If *any-man* (= *εἷς τις*, *si quis*) have not the spirit of Christ, he is not his"; — *Jabai hwa habaiþ wiþra hwana, aflētaiþ* (Mk. xi. 25) = "If ye have *ought* against *anybody*, forgive."

(v) A similar use extends to derived adverbs and to *hwē*; e.g.: . . . *nibai hwan gawandjaina-sik* (Mk. iv. 12) = ". . . lest *at any time* they-be-converted"; — *Allaim was all, ei hwaīwa sumans ganasjau* (Cor. I. ix. 22) = "I was everything to all-men, that (=if) *in-any-way* I-might-save some"; — *In þammei hwē hwas anananþeiþ, gadars jah ik* (Cor. II. xi. 21) = "In *what-soever any-man* is-bold, I too am-daring."

(vi) The Distributives likewise may be used either partitively or independently; as: *Hwazuh abnē . . . hwōh quinōnō . . .* = "*Every* man . . . *every* woman . . ." (lit., "*each-one* of men," &c.). But: *Hwazuh mōdags brōþr seinamma swarē . . .* (Mt. v. 22) = "*Every-one* (that is) angry with-his brother without-cause . . ."; — . . . *wairpandans hlauta* (dat. s.) . . . *hwarjizuh hwa nēmi* (Mk. xv. 24) = ". . . casting lots . . . (to settle) *what each* should-take."

(vii) *Hwa-* + *uh*, *Hwarja-*, and *Hwarja-* + *uh*, are sometimes used adjectivally; as: *Daga hwammēh was at izwis* (Mk. xiv. 49) = "*Every* day was-I with you"; — *And dulþ hwarjōh fralaīlōt im ainana bandjan* (xv. 6) = "At *every* feast he-released unto-them one prisoner"; — *Wituþ auk hwarjōs*

anabusnins atgēbum izwis (Thess. I. iv. 2) = "For ye-know *what* commandments we-gave you."

(viii) The indefinites *Hwazuh* + *saei* and *Sa-hwazuh* + *saei* (or *izei*) or, in neut., *ṣatahwah* + *ṣei* introduce substantial clauses in various syntactic relationships; as: *Hwazuh-saei* taujiṣ frawaurht skalks ist frawaurhtai (John viii. 34) = "*Whosoever*-doeth-sin is a slave to sin" (subjective clause); —*ṣatahwah-ṣei* wileiṣ, bidjiṣ (xv. 7) = "Ask *whatsoever*-ye-will" (objective clause); —*Sahwazuh-saei* andhaitiṣ mis . . . andhaitja jah ik *imma* (Mt. x. 32) = "*Whosoever* confesseth me . . . I also will-confess *him*" (appositional clause to *imma*).

(ix) But *saei* alone (which is itself really a compound = "he-that") is often used instead of the foregoing compounds; as: *Saei* allis wili saiwala seina ganasjan fraquisteiṣ izai (Mk. viii. 35) = "For (*he-that* =) *whosoever* will save his life shall lose it"; —*Saei* skamaiṣ sik meina . . . , jah sunus mans skamaiṣ sik is . . . (38) = "*Whosoever* is ashamed of me . . . , the son of man will also be ashamed of him."

(x) The indefinite meaning of the composite pronouns in (viii) is, however, not far from a distributive meaning; and, in fact, a distributive phrase may sometimes best render them; as: Ni *hwazuh-saei* quiṣiṣ mis, Frauja, franja! inn galeiṣiṣ (Mt. vii. 21) = "Not *every-one-that* saith to me, Lord, lord! shall enter in."

(xi) For *Hwazuh-saei* with its clause, *hwazuh* + *sa* + a present *ptcp.* may appear as an equivalent, on the pattern of the Greek; as: *Hwazuh sa aḷētands* quēn seina jah *liugands* anṣara hōrinōṣ (Lk. xvi. 18) = "*Every-one that* (= *whosoever*) *putteth-away* his wife and *marrieth* another committeth-adultery" (πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων . . .).

(xii) *Pishwazuh* does not fuse with *saei* or *ei*, nor *pishwah* with *patei* or *pei*; and while *ṣis* is indeclinable, *-hwazuh* and *-hwah* remain declinable: their own case they nearly (but not quite) always take from the principal clause; as: *ṣis-hwanōh* (acc.) *saei* (nom.) afaikiṣ mik . . . , afaika jah ik *ina* . . . (Mt. x. 33) = "*Whosoever* denieth me . . . , I also will-deny *him*" (= "*any one that*"; syntactically, *ṣis-hwanōh* and *ina* are appositional accusatives); —*ṣis-hwammēh* (dat.) *saei* habaiṣ, gībada *imma* (Mk. iv. 25) = "*To-whomsoever* hath, shall-be-given," or, "*Whosoever hath, to-him*," &c. (appositional datives); —*Bidei* mik *ṣishwizuh-ṣei* wileis (vi. 22) = "Ask me *for-anything-that* (= *whatsoever*) thou wilt": the pronominal clause is here a genitive object-clause to *bidei*. But: *ṣishwazuh-ei* (compound nom.) quiṣai du ṣamma fairgunja, Ushafei ṣuk . . . , wairṣiṣ *imma* (dat.) *ṣishwah-ṣei* quiṣiṣ (Mk. xi. 23) = "*Whosoever* shall-say to this mountain,

Take thyself off . . . , there-shall-happen *to-him whatsoever* he saith": the pronouns here take their case from the subordinate clauses, although the first of these clauses might be in apposition with *imma*.

(xiii) In connexion with these compounds may here be conveniently noticed the related adverbs *þishwaduh* + *þadei* (or *þei*), and *þishwaruh* + *þei*; as in: *þishwaduh-þei gangaiþ* in gārð, þar saljaþ (Mk. vi. 10) = "*Whithersoever* ye go into a house, there abide";—*þishwaruh-þei ina gafahiþ*, gawairpiþ ina (ix. 18) = "*Wheresoever* it seizeth him, it casteth him down."

(xiv) Even the *article* + a *ptcp.* may be similarly rendered; as: *Sa mik andnimands andnimiþ þana sandjandan mik* (Mt. x. 40) = "*He-that* (= *whosoever*) *receiveth* me receiveth him-that-sent me." In the parallel passage, John xiii. 20, we in fact find: "*Saei mik andnimiþ*," &c. The Grk. in both places has *ὁ* + a *ptcp.*

(xv) Occasionally our "whoever" and "whatever" render *ὅσο-*, and are nearly equivalent to "how many soever" and "how much soever," or "as many as," and "as much as": the corresponding Gothic phrases then are: *swa managai swē* or *swaswē*, and *swa filu swē*; e. g.: *Jah swa managai swē ni andnimaina izwis . . .* (Mk. vi. 11) = "*And whosoever* (= *as many as* or *how many soever*) shall not receive you . . .";—*Gatawidēdun imma swa filu swē wildēdun* (ix. 13) = "*They have done to him whatsoever* (lit., *as much as*) they would."

(xvi) *Alla-* may be used either adjectivally (as, *Allai Iudaeis* = "*All the Jews*"); or pronominally,—in which case it may either stand alone (as, *Afslauþnōdēdun allai* = "*All were astonished*"), or be accompanied by a genitive (§ 92 (v)). In these usages the Go. and Engl. agree. But when the Go. neut. sing. *all* takes a plural gen., it is best rendered by "every" used as an adj.; as: *All bagmē* = "*Every tree*";—*allata frawaurhtē* = "*Every sin*."

(xvii) *Aina-* and *suma-*, used indefinitely, differ from *hwa-* so used (See (iv)), in that they indicate actual, and not merely possible, instances; as: *Jah duatrinnands ains . . . baþ ina, quipands . . .* (Mk. x. 17) = "*And a-certain-man* running-up . . . besought him, saying . . .";—*Jah sumai usstandandans galiug weitwōdidēdun ana ina* (xiv. 57) = "*And certain-men* rising-up bare-false-witness against him."

(xviii) Occasionally *aina-* and *suma-* are used together; as: *Ains sums þizē atstandandanē* = "*Some one* of-them that-stood-by";—*Ains sums jungalaups* = "*A certain* young-man"; (Mk. xiv. 47, 51.)

(xix) *Hwashun* and *mannahun* are always closely accom-

panied by *ni*; as: *Ni hwashun* piupeigs alja ains, gup Mk. x. 18) = "*Nobody* (is) good but one, (namely) God";—*Ni mannhun* (dat.) quipais in þamma wēhsa (viii. 26) = "Tell *no man* in the town";—*Ni kara* þuk *manshun* (xii. 14) = "Thou carest for *no man*" (See § 90 (vii)).

(xx) *Ainshun* is also generally accompanied by *ni*; as: *Ni fralaflōt ainōhun* izē miþ sis afargangan (Mk. v. 37) = "He did *not* permit *any-one* of them to accompany him." But sometimes *ni* follows; as: *Jah waihtē ainōhun* izwis *ni* gaskapjiþ (Lk. x. 19) = "And *nothing* (lit., no one of things) shall injure you." If the sense of a clause is clearly negative, *ni* need not appear; as: *Sai, jau ainshun* þizē reikē galaubidēdi imma? (John vii. 48) = "Pray has *anyone* of the rulers believed on him?" (= "no one has"). In Thess. I. iv. 12: . . . ei *ni ainishun* hwis þaurbeiþ = ". . . that ye-may-have-need of *nothing whatever*"; *ainishun* is intensified by the gen. of *hwa-* (See (iv) above).

(δ) *Verbs* (including the *Infinitive* and the *Participles* in their verbal aspects).

### 105. General Rules.

(i) A subject may be involved in the verb itself (§ 87 (1)). When the verb is of the 3rd person this involved subject should have reference to some person or thing (or persons or things) already mentioned; except where an indefinite nom. like our "men" or "they" is understood; as in: *Wein jun-gata* in balgins niujans *giutand* (Mk. ii. 22) = "*Men-pour* fresh wine into new bottles." In a verb of the 1st or 2nd person it is sufficiently clear who is referred to, without any previous mention.

(ii) Of Impersonal verbs the grammatical object is the virtual subject (See § 90 (vi) & 91 (ix)). The curious impers. *kara* (*ist*), § 90 (vii), seems to have supplanted the intrans. and perhaps impers. verb *karōn*, of which only a single form (the 2 p. s.) occurs, in: *Ni karōs* (subj.), "never mind" (Cor. I. vii. 21).

(iii) A somewhat similar combination to *kara* (*ist*) + accus. is that of *skulan-* (m.), "debtor," with *im, is, ist*, &c., + accus. = "I am a debtor," &c.,—a periphrase which at last became = "I owe"; &c.; and actually took an accusative as object; e. g.: *þuk silban mis skula is* (Philem. 19) = "*Thou owest me thyself*";—*Aflēt uns* (dat.) þatei *skulans sijaima* (Mt. vi. 12) = "Forgive us what *we owe*" (= "our debts"). In other combinations, however, *skulan-* maintains its proper character and meaning.

(iv) For passives used impersonally when their actives govern a dat. or a gen., see §§ 91 (xvii) & 92 (xv).

(v) The discrepancy in "number," already referred to in the case of adjectives and pronouns (§§ 93 (ii) & 99 (iii)), extends, under similar conditions, to the verb; as: *All* (sing.) manageins *iddjēdun* (plur.) *du imma* (Mk. ii. 13) = "*The whole of the multitude came to him.*" But the verb is sometimes singular and the accompanying ptep. plural; as: *Was* managei *beidandans* *Zakariins* (Lk. i. 21) = "*The multitude was (were) awaiting Zacharias.*"

(vi) Two or more singular nominatives coupled by *jah* should naturally, and often do, take the verb in the dual or plural; as: *Ik jah atta meins ain siju* (John x. 30) = "*I and my father are one*";—*Ni wissēdun Iōsēf jah aiþei* is (Lk. ii. 43) = "*Joseph and his mother knew-it not.*" Not seldom, however, the verb is in the singular; as: . . . *þarei malō jah nidwa frawardeiþ* (Mt. vi. 19) = ". . . where *moth* and *rust* corrupteth";—*Gōleiþ izwis Akyla jah Priska* (Cor. I. xvi. 19) = "*Aquila and Priscilla greet(eth) you.*" But it is to be noted that the Gothic here agrees with the Greek.

(vii) As regards number it may further be noted that several times the dual, in passages requiring it, drops into the plural,—a fact suggesting that the dual was passing out of use; as: *Bigitats fulan asilaus gabundanana*; and *bindandans ina attiuhþ* (Lk. xix. 30) = "*Ye-two-will-find* an ass's foal bound; loose it and *bring-it-hither.*"

### 106. Voice.

(i) The scanty remains of the (medio-)passive in Gothic are confined to the present tense indic. and opt. (§§ 69, 78); but even in this tense it may be supplanted by the younger substitutes.

(ii) The most interesting of these substitutes is the "Correlative Passive" treated in § 43 (2, iv). Verbs of this formation are capable of as extensive inflexion as their corresponding actives. In the present tense they jostle and even oust the older (medio-)passive; and thus we have: . . . *ei hauhjaidau sunus guþs* (John xi. 4), "*that the son of God may-be-glorified*";—and also: . . . *ei ushauhnai namō frauþins* (Thess. II. i. 12), "*that the name of the Lord may-be-glorified*";—and while *gahailniþ*, "*he or she is (or shall be) healed,*" appears more than once, *gahailjada* does not appear at all. In the pret., a "correlative passive" form sometimes answers to a simple pass. present (*uslukkōda* to *uslūkada*).

(iii) Composite Passives, prototypes of those in English and German, are formed by using the parts (chiefly the

prets.) of *wisan* and (less frequently) *waírpan*, as auxiliaries, with the pass. ptp. as principal; e. g.: *gamōlīp ist*, "it is written";—*daupidai wēsun*, "they were baptized";—*galdailīps warþ*, "he was divided"; &c. Sometimes such a composite preterite occurs in change with the pret. of a "correlative passive"; as: *usgaisīps ist*, "he is beside himself"; and *usgeisnōdēdum*<sup>1</sup>, "we are beside ourselves."

(iv) The passive is likewise rendered by an active verb used reflexively; as: *hailjan sik*, "to be healed" (prop. "to get oneself healed");—*inmaidjan sik*, "to be transfigured";—*þrafstjan sik*, "to be comforted" (E.V. "to be of good cheer");—*skaman sik*, "to be ashamed"; &c.<sup>2</sup> Some such reflexives, however, show a correlative meaning to that of the active, rather than a strictly passive force; as: *laisjan* or *galaisjan*, "to teach"; but *laisjan sik* or *galaisjan sik*, "to learn";—*leihwan*, "to lend"; but *leihwan sis*, "to borrow."

(v) Passives of various forms occasionally occur with an intransitive meaning; as: . . . ei ni *gasaihwaiþau* mannam fastands (Mt. vi. 18) = ". . . that thou-appear not unto-men (as) fasting" (cf. the Lat. *videri*);—*Atangiþs warþ* im Hēlias (Mk. ix. 4) = "There-appeared unto-them Elias";—and so the reflexives: *gawandjan sik* = "to return";—*atnēhwan sik*, "to draw near";—*gatulggjan sik* = "to persist"; and others.

### 107. Tense.

(i) The Gothic is compelled by its poverty in tense-inflexions to use the present (indic. or opt.) as a future, and the pret. forms for various subdivisions of past time; as: *Sutizō ist* Saúdaúmjam in daga stauōs . . . (Mk. vi. 11) = "It shall-be more-tolerable for-the-people-of-Sodom in the day of judgment . . .";—*Inuh þis bileiþai* manna attin seinamma jah aiþein seinai (x. 7) = "For this-reason a man shall-leave his father and his mother";—*Frawaurht ni ufkunþēdjau*, nih þairh witōþ (Rom. vii. 7) = "I should not have known sin, except through the law."

(ii) The prefix *ga-* seems sometimes to be intended to assist either the future or the aoristic force; as: *Ak þatainei quip waurda*, jah *gahailniþ* sa þiumagus meins (Mt. viii. 8) = "But only speak with a word, and my servant shall-be-healed";—

<sup>1</sup> We should have expected *gis-*, not *geis-* as the root of this vb.

Compare the Germ.: *Das Buch hat sich gefunden*, "the book has been found"; or the French: *Le drap se vend à trois francs le mètre*, "the cloth is sold at three francs a metre"; and the like. The Icelandic has evolved a complete middle voice out of the fusion of *mk*, *sk*, = Go. *mik*, *sik*, with the forms of the active voice.

Ik *gataúra* alh, jah bi þrins dagans anþara *gatimrja* (Mk. xiv. 58) = "I *will-destroy* the temple, and in three days *I-will-build* another."

(iii) Composite active futures are made by means of the present-tense forms of *skulan*, *haban*, *duginnan*, and *munan* (pret. *munaida*), as auxiliaries, with an infinitive as principal; e. g.: . . . saei *skal stōjan* quiwans jah daupans (Tim. I. iv. 1) = ". . . who *shall judge* the quick and the dead";—þatei tauja, (þata) jah *taujan haba* (Cor. II. xi. 12) = "What I-do, (that) also *I-will do*";—Gaunōn jah *grētan duginnīþ* (Lk. vi. 25) = "Ye *shall mourn and lament*";—Hwa warþ ei unrsis *munais gabairhtjan* þuk silban? (John xiv. 22) = "How has-it-come-to-pass that *thou-wilt manifest* thyself to-us?"

(iv) The preterites of *skulan*, *haban*, and *munan* make corresponding "past-futures"; e. g.: Sa ist Hēlias, saei *skulda quiman* (Mt. xi. 14) = E. V., "This is Elias, who *was-for-to-come*" (Lat. *qui venturus erat*);—Silba wissa þatei *habaida taujan* (John vi. 6) = "He-himself knew what he *would do*" (*ipse sciebat quid esset factururus*);—Untē is and þata *munaida þairhngangan* (Lk. xix. 4) = "For he *was to pass* along that-way."

(v) A more cumbrous past-future is made with the prædicative adj. *anawairþa*-, "future," "in-the-future," "to-come," and *was* or *wēsun* followed by an infin. with *du*; as: *Anawairþ was uns du winnan agliþōs* (Thess. I. iii. 4) = lit., "*It-was in-the-future* for-us *to suffer* tribulation"; i. e., "We *had or were to suffer*";— . . . izci *anawairþai wēsun du galaubjan* (Tim. I. i. 16) = ". . . who *were-going to believe*."

(vi) A continuative past tense (fashioned on the Greek) is formed by *was*, *wēsun*, &c., and the active ptp.; as: *Was Iōhannēs daupjands* (Mk. i. 4) = "John *was baptizing*";—*Wēsun sipōnjōs fastandans* (ii. 18) = "The disciples *were fasting*" or "*used to fast*."

(vii) The Gothic also followed the Greek in neglecting the sequence of tenses; as: *Gafrēhun* (pret.) þatei in garda *ist* (pres.) (Mk. ii. 1) = "They *learnt-by-inquiry* that he *is* (was) in the house";—Þaruh þan *gasahw* managei þatei Iēsus *nist* jainar . . . (John vi. 24) = "When therefore the multitude *saw* that Jesus *is-not* (was-not) there . . ."

108. *Mood*.—The rules on Mood to be here given will for the most part revolve about the Optative (Subjunctive): other *modi* will be considered chiefly in so far as they come into contact with, or require to be differentiated from, this.

(i) *Optative and Imperative*.

(i) The Optative proper appears in independent clauses;



as : *Weihnai* namō þein, *quimai* þiudinassus þeins; *waírpai* wilja þeins (Mt. vi. 9, 10) = "May thy name be-hallowed; may thy kingdom come; may thy will be-done";—Gup *fulljai* izwis allaizōs fahēdais (Rom. xv. 13) = "May God fill you with all joy."

(ii) With *wainei* (= ὅφελον = Lat. *utinam*) it is implied that a wish is unfulfilled; e. g. : *Wainei* þiudanōdēdeip̃ (Cor. I. iv. 8) = "Would-that ye-reigned-as-kings";—*Wainei* usþulaidēdeip̃ meinaizōs unfrōdeins (II. xi. 1) = "Would-that ye-would-bear-with my folly." *Ip̃* has nearly the same force in : *Ip̃ wissēdeis* jah þu in þamma daga þeinamma . . . (Lk. xix. 42) = "If (or, O if = would-that) thou also hadst-known in this thy day . . ."

(iii) A wish easily assumes a hortative and then a mild imperative force; as : *Sijai* waírd izwar, Ja, ja, Nē, nē (Mt. v. 37) = "Let your word be, Yea, yea, Nay, nay";—*þáirhgangaima* ju und Beþlaháim (Lk. ii. 15) = "Let-us-go now unto Bethlehem";—*Jabai* idreigō sik, *fralētais* imma (xvii. 3) = "If he repent, do-thou-forgive him." The imperative force becomes stronger after *ni*; as : *Ni* maúrþrjais, *Ni* hlifais (Mk. x. 19) = "Do-not murder, Do-not steal"; or "Thou shalt not . . ."

(iv) But colloquially, when one person is addressing another, the imperative proper is generally preferred, even with *ni*; as : *Gang* in gawairþi = "Go in peace";—*Ni* faúrhteip̃ izwis = "Be (ye) not afraid";—*Usleip̃am* jáinis stadis = "Let-us-pass-over to yonder shore."

(v) Remarkable is the idiomatic and untranslatable use of *ei* between two imperatives; as in : *Lēt, ei* saihwam . . . (Mt. xxvii. 49, Mk. xv. 36) = ἄφες, ἴδωμεν, "Let-be, let-us-see";—*Saihwip̃ ei* *atsaihwip̃-izwis* . . . (Mk. viii. 15) = ὁρᾶτε, βλέπετε, "Take-heed (and) beware . . ." *Ei* seems to be similarly idiomatic in : *þannu nu ei* faúr mēl ni stōjaip̃ (Cor. I. iv. 5) = ὥστε μὴ . . . κρίνετε, "Therefore judge not before the time."

(vi) In indirect or reported commands or entreaties the opt. always appears; and its tense follows that of the governing verb. Examples : *Anabaup̃ im ei* mann *ni* *quēpeina* (Mk. vii. 36) = "He commanded them that they-should-not-tell (= not to tell) any man";—*Faúrbaup̃ im ei* waíht *ni* *nēmeina* in wig (vi. 8) = "He forbade them to take anything for their journey";—*Quaþsipōnjam* þeinaim *ei* *usdribeina* ina (ix. 18) = "I spake to (= besought) thy disciples to cast him out";—*Wiljau ei* mis *gibais* haubip̃ Iohannis (vi. 25) = "I will that thou-give me the head of John";—*Ni* lailōt (= faúrbaup̃) *ei* hwas *þáirhbēri* kas *þáirh* þō alh (xi. 16) = "He-did-

not-allow (= he forbade) anyone *to carry* a vessel through the temple." (The direct commands or entreaties would be: *Ni quiþaiþ . . .*; *Ni nimaiþ . . .*; *Usdreibiþ* or *Usdreibaþ . . .*; *Gif mis . . .*; &c.)

(vii) The future force of the opt. in simple direct propositions probably radiated from its hortative or concessive force. Thus: *Ip ni swa sijai* in *izwis* (Mk. x. 43), "But it *shall not be* so among you," (originally, "let it not be so"); —*Nē, ak haitaidau Iōhannēs* (Lk. i. 60), "Nay, but *he shall-be-called* John" ("let him be-called").

(viii) Sometimes an *indic.* present is followed by an *opt.* present, when both have a future force; as: *Ni mannhun auk ist saei taujiþ* *maht* in *namin meinamma, jah magi sprautō ubilwaúrdjan mis* (Mk. ix. 39) = "For there is no man who *shall-work* a miracle in my name, and (who) *shall-be-able* readily to-speak-evil-against me"; —*Saei taujiþ jah laisjai swa . . .* (Mt. v. 19) = "Whoso *shall-keep* (the commandments) and *shall-teach* (men) so . . ." Some grammarians think they see, in the second clause, a consequence or logical completion of the first.

(2) The *Optative* as a *Subjunctive*: the *Subjunctive and Indicative in Questions*.

(ix) The original function of the Subjunctive probably was to express the *mental conception* of possible occurrences as distinguished from the statement of actual facts; and the subjunctive uses of the optative in Gothic still, for the most part, differ from the indicative mood in accordance with such a distinction.

(x) The subjunctive (opt.) appears in Gothic (as in Latin) in direct dubitative questions; *e.g.*: *Hwa taujai?* = "Quid *faciam?*" = "What *am-I-to-do?*" —*þu is sa quimanda, þau anþarizuh beidaima?* (Mt. xi. 3) = "Art thou he that-should-come, or *are-we-to-expect* another?" —*Und hwa at izwis sijau?* und *hwa þulau izwis?* (Mk. ix. 19) = "How long *am-I-to-be* with you? how long *am-I-to-put-up-with* you?" The Greek original sometimes shows the future indicative in such passages; and our own idiom would prefer this tense all along ("What *shall-I* do?" &c.). It is to be noted, however, that occasionally the Gothic itself shows a curious alternation of indic. and subj., even where the Greek has the subj. throughout; as: *Ni maúrnaþ nu quiþandans*, "Hwa *matjam?*" *aíþþau* "Hwa *drinkam?*" *aíþþau* "Hwē *wasjaima?*" (Mt. vi. 31) = "Be-not concerned therefore, saying, 'What *shall-we-eat?*' or 'What *shall-we-drink?*' or 'Wherewithal *are-we-to-clothe* (ourselves)?"

(xi) A similar variation of mood (irrespective of tense) appears in rhetorical questions that run in pairs: as: *Bai Pawlus ushramips warþ in izwara, aipþau in namin Pawlaus daupidai wēseip?* (Cor. I. i. 13) = "Pray *was* Paul *crucified* for your sake, or *were-you baptized* in Paul's name?" — *Ilwas siukip, jah ik ni siukau?* *hwas afmarzjada, jah ik ni tundnan?* (II. xi. 29) = "Who *is-weak*, and I *am-not-weak?* who *is-offended*, and I *burn* not?" This is probably an idiomatic usage like that in (viii) above.

(xii) Indirect dubitative questions naturally show the subjunctive, which, in tense, follows the leading verb; as: *Ni maurnaiþ saiwalai izwarai, hwa matjaip, jah hwa drinkaip; nih leika izwamma, hwē wasjaip* (Mt. vi. 25) = "Be not concerned for your life, what *ye-are-to-eat*, and what *ye-are-to-drink*; nor for your body, wherewithal *ye-are-to-clothe* (yourselves)" (compare verse 31, in (x) above); — *Du sis missō andrunnan, hwarjis maists wēsi* (Mk. ix. 34) = "They disputed with one another, which *was-to-be* greatest."

(xiii) In the examples of (x) and (xii) the dubitation is inherent in the question itself; but sometimes it is involved in the governing verb, when this denotes doubting, wondering, expecting, or the like; as: *þankjandam allaim* (absolute phrase) *bi Iōhannēn, niu aúftō sa wēsi Xristus . . .* (Lk. iii. 15) = "*As* all men *were-questioning* about John, whether perchance (*aúftō*) he *might* not be the Christ . . ."; — *Jah witaidēdun imma, hailidēdi-u sabbato daga* (Mk. iii. 2) = "And *they-watched* him, (to see) whether (*-u*) he-*would* heal on the Sabbath-day"; — *Sildaleikidēdun hwa latidēdi ina in pizai alh* (Lk. i. 21) = "They-*wondered* what *could-be*-delaying him in the temple."

(xiv) The usual word for asking a question is *fraihnan* (pret. *frah*); but the question that follows may be either indirect or direct; if indirect, the verb of the question must be in the subjunctive; as: *Frēhun ina skuld-u sijai mann quēn afsatjan* (Mk. x. 2) = "They-*asked* him whether *it-is* (= *was*) lawful for-a-man to-put-away *his-wife*"; — if direct, the verb must be in the indicative; as: *Frah ina Iēsus, "Hwa ist namō þein?"* (Lk. viii. 30) = "Jesus *asked* him, 'What *is* thy name?'"

(xv) Indirect questions governed by verbs of telling, knowing, seeing, and the like, imply an actual fact, and generally (not quite always) take their verb in the indicative mood; the tense, however, (following the Greek,) often differs from that of the leading verb; as: *Wissuh þan Iēsus hwarjai sind þai ni galaubjandans, jah hwas ist saci galēweip ina* (John vi. 64) = "For Jesus *knew* who they *are* (*were*)"

*that-did-not-believe*, and who it *is (was)* that shall (should) betray him." Yet we find: *Sēhwun* hwar galagiþs *wēsi* (Mk. xv. 47) = "*They-saw* where *he-was* laid"; and others similar.

(xvi) The indic. is also used when the principal clause is negative; as: *Ni wituts* hwis *bidjats* (Mk. x. 38) = "*Ye-two-know not* what *ye-are-asking*";—*Hwaiwa* nu *saihiwiþ*, *ni witum* (John ix. 21) = "*How he now seeth, we-know not.*"—(Mk. ix. 6, *Ni wissa* hwa *rōdidēdi*, is not an exception, as it contains a dubitative question,—"*He-knew not what to-say.*")

(xvii) The verb of an indirect question following such verbs as *haban*, "to have," *manujan*, "to prepare," *sōkjan*, "to seek," often implies an end or purpose; it is then in the subjunctive, and may be best rendered by the English infinitive; as: *Ni haband* hwa *matjaina* (Mk. viii. 2) = "*They have nothing to eat*" (cf. Lat., "*Non habent quo vescantur*");—*Manwei* hwa *matjau* (Lk. xvii. 8) = "*Prepare something for-me-to-eat*";—*Sōkidedun* hwaiwa imma *usquitiðēdeina* (Mk. xi. 18) = "*They sought how to destroy him.*"

(xviii) The word for "to answer" is *andhaffjan*; in the following instance (Lk. xx. 7) it governs an indirect clause:—*Andhōfun* ei *ni wissēdeina* hwaþrō (*wēsi*) = "*They-answered* that *they-knew* not whence (he was)." It may also be used without any object (*raihþaba andhōft*, "*thou-hast-answered* rightly"), or may take a subst. after it (*ni-u andhaffis waiht* ? "*answerest-thou nothing?*"). But the favourite construction is to couple *andhaffjan* and *quiþan* (like the Greek ἀποκρίνεσθαι + εἰπεῖν) and to append a direct answer without a conjunction. The following are the leading forms:—*Andhōf* Iēsus *jah quap*: "*Sō meina laiseins nist meina*" (John vii. 16) = "*Jesus answered and said, 'This doctrine of mine is not mine'*";—*þanuh andhaffand jah þai quiþandans*: "*Hwan þuk sēhwum gredagana,*" &c. (Mt. xxv. 44) = "*Then shall they also answer saying: 'When saw we thee a-hungred . . .'*";—*Andhaffands þan Païtrus quap*: "*þu is Kristus*" (Lk. ix. 20) = "*Then Peter answering said, 'Thou art (the) Christ.'*"

### (3) Reported Speech.

(xix) A reported fact or statement is usually in the form of a subordinate clause introduced by *þatei* (*þammei*), *ei*, or (rarely) *untē*, and *þei* (See § 103 (xv, xvi)). When the leading clause is assertive (or virtually so), the verb of the subordinate clause is indicative; as: *Kunnuþ þatei nēhwa ist asans* (Mk. xiii. 28) = "*Ye-know that the harvest (=summer)*

is nigh";—Gaumidēdun *pammei* afwalwīps *ist* sa stans (xvi. 4) = "They-perceived *that* the stone *is* (= *was*) rolled away";—Bi *pamma* ufkunund allai *pei* meīnai sipōnjōs *sijup* (John xiii. 35) = "By this shall all-men know *that ye-are* my disciples";—Niu gamēlīp *ist* *patei* razn meīn razn bidō *haitada*? (Mk. xi. 17) = "Is it not written (= *it is* written) *that* my house *shall-be-called* a house of prayer?"

(xx) But if the leading clause is negative or subjunctive, or is a question implying uncertainty, the subordinate clause requires the subjunctive; as: *Ni* quīpa *pei* ik *bidjau* attan bi izwis (John xvi. 26) = "I say *not* that *I-will-pray* the father for you";—*Ni* galaubidēdun *patei* is blinds *wēsi* (ix. 18) = "They did *not* believe that he *had-been* blind";—*Jobai* quēp-jau *patei* ni *kunnjau* ina . . . (viii. 55) = "If *I-were-to-say* that *I-know* him not . . .";—*Ga-u-laubjats* *patei* magjau *pata* taujan (Mt. ix. 28) = "Do-ye-two-believe that *I-can* do this?" —*Hwa* wileis ei *tauja*u pus? (Mk. x. 51) = "What *wilt-thou* that *I-do* for thee?"

(xxi) Indirect propositions governed by verbs of hoping, trusting, supposing, and the like, require a verb in the subjunctive; as: *Wēnja* ei *kunneip* . . . (Cor. II. xiii. 6) = "I-hope that *ye-know* . . .";— . . . *paiei* *trauidēdun* sis ei *wēseina* garahtai (Lk. xviii. 9) = " . . . who *trusted* in-themselves that *they-were* righteous";—*Jainai* *hugidēdun* *patei* is bi slēp *quēpi* (John xi. 13) = "They *supposed* that he *was-speaking* about sleep."

(xxii) Statements reported at second hand take the subjunctive; as: *Jah* frēhun ina quīpandans, untē quīpand *pai* bōkarjōs *patei* Hēlias *skuli* quīman faúrpis (Mk. ix. 11) = "And they questioned him saying, that the scribes assert that Elias *must* first come";—*Sa-u* *ist* sa sunus izwar, *paneī* jus quīpīp *patei* blinds gabaúrans *waúrpi*? (John ix. 19) = "Is this your son, (about) whom ye assert that he *was* born blind?"—*Weis* hausidēdum ana witōda *patei* Xristus *sijai* du aiwa (John xii. 34) = "We have heard out of the law (*i. e.*, that the law says) that Christ *is-to-abide* for ever."

(xxiii) *Hausjan*, "to hear," as a leading verb, takes the subordinate verb in the indicative; as: *Hausidēdun* bisitands untē *gamikilida* frauja armahártein *seina* bi izai (Lk. i. 58) = "The neighbours heard that the Lord *had-magnified* his mercy towards her." But if *hausjan* is itself subordinate, and yet takes a secondary subordinate clause after it, the verb of the latter is in the subjunctive; as: *Iddjēdun* gamōt-jan imma, untē *hausidēdun* ei *gatawidēdi* pō taīkn (John xii. 18) = "They went to meet him, because *they-heard* (= some one had told them) that *he-had-wrought* that miracle";—

Dugunnun þans-ubil-habandans báiran þadei *hausidēdun* ei is *wēsi* (Mk. vi. 55) = "They-began to carry those-that-were-ill to-the-place-where *they-had-heard* that he *was*." (These examples are closely similar to those under rule (xxii).)

(4) *Subjective and Appositional Clauses.*

(xxiv) The mood here varies in accordance with the broad characteristics of the Indicative and Subjunctive laid down in (ix) above. The following leading cases may be cited:—

(a) When a subjective clause is a statement introduced by *ei* or *þatei*.—Indicative: *Hwa ist þatei miþ mōtarjam jah frawaurhtaim matjiþ jah drinkiþ?* (Mk. ii. 16) = "How is it that he *eats* and *drinks* (i. e., *is actually eating and drinking*) with publicans and sinners?" But Subjunctive: *Ganah siponi (acc.) ei wairþai swē laisareis is* (Mt. x. 25) = "It-sufficeth the disciple that *he-be* (=for him *to be*) as his teacher";—*Batizō ist þus ei fraquistnai ains liþiwē þeinaizē . . .* (Mt. v. 29, 30) = "It-is better for-thee that one of thy members *perish . . .*" (or "for one . . . *to perish*").

(b) When a subjective clause is introduced by an indefinite pronoun.—Indicative: *Swa managai swē attaitōkun imma ganēsun* (Mk. vi. 56) = "As many as (actually) *touched* him were-healed";—*Wairþiþ imma þishwah-þei quiþiþ* (xi. 23) = "Whatsoever *he-saith* shall-come-to-pass for-him."

(c) Appositional clauses.—Indicative: *Spillō izwis fahēþ mikila, . . . þatei gabaúrans ist izwis himma daga nasjands* (Lk. ii. 10) = "I-announce to-you a great joy, . . . (viz.) that there *is* born to-you this day a saviour";—*Bigita witōþ, untē mis atist ubil* (Rom. vii. 21) = "I find a law, (viz.) that evil *is-present* with-me." But Subjunctive: . . . *gamunan aiþis þanei swōr . . . , ei gēbi unsis, &c.* (Lk. i. 73) = ". . . to-remember the oath which he swore . . . , (viz.) that *he-would-grant* to-us," &c.;—*Sōh þan ist sō aiweinō libains, ei kunneina þuk . . .* (John xvii. 3) = "And this is the life everlasting, (viz.) that *they-may-know* thee . . .".—Or, after a question: *Hwaprō mis þata, ei quēmi aiþei frauþins meinis at mis?* (Lk. i. 43) = "Whence (=How happens) this to-me, (viz.) that the mother of my lord *should-come* to me?"

(5) *Relative Clauses.*

(xxv) If a Relative clause is attached to a positive indicative clause, it also requires the indicative; but if to an imperative or optative clause, it requires the subjunctive; *e. g.*, Indicative: *þō waurstwa, þōei ik tauja, jah is taujiþ* (John xiv. 12) = "He also *shall-do* the works which I (actually) *do*";—but Subjunctive: *Atta, gif mis sei undrinnai mis dail aiginis* (Lk. xv. 12) = "Father, *give* me the-share of-property

that *falleth* (=such share as *should-fall*) to me";—*pō anajih triggwaim mannam paiei wairpai sijaina jah anparans laisjan* (Tim. II. ii. 2) = "These-things *do-thou-commit* to faithful men who *shall be* (=such as *may be*) worthy or able to teach others also." (This modal harmony extends to other forms of composite sentences; as: *Saei habai ausōna hausjandōna gahausjai* (Mk. iv. 9) = "Whose *hath* hearing ears, *let-him-hear*"; in verse 23 we find an equivalent conditional clause: *Jabai hwas habai ausōna hausjandōna gahausjai* = "If any-man *have*," &c. (See (xxvii) below.))

(xxvi) But when the leading clause is interrogative or negative, although its verb be indicative, the verb of the relative clause is generally subjunctive (Compare (xx)); *e. g.*: *Hwa auk ist pizei wanai wēseiþ?* (Cor. II. xii. 13) = "For what *is*-there whereof *ye-were* lacking?"—*Hwas sa ist saei frawaurhtins aflētai?* (Lk. vii. 49) = "Who *is* this that *for-gives* (=that he should dare to forgive) sins?"—*Nih allis ist hwa fulginis patei ni gabaŕhtjaidau* (Mk. iv. 22, Mt. x. 26) = "For there-*is* nothing hidden that *shall-not-be-revealed*";—*Nip paiei sijaina fraiw Abrahamis, allai (sind) barna* (Rom. ix. 7) = "Not all those *are* children who *are* the seed of Abraham" (or, not all *such-as-are* the seed of Abr. are children). When, however, a fact is stated in the rel. clause, the indic. is used; as: *Maguts-u drinkan stikl þanci ik drinka?* (Mk. x. 38) = "Can ye-two drink-of the cup that *I am-drinking-of*?"

#### (6) *Adverbial Clauses: Condition.*

(xxvii) Conditional clauses are introduced by *jabai* and (for past tenses) *iþ*; or, when negative, by *nibai* (*niba*) and (for past tenses) *nih*. In the present tenses, fact, or what is put as fact, requires the indic.; hypothesis or uncertainty requires the subjunctive: modal harmony (See (xxv)) must also be taken into account; as: *Jabai mis hwas andbahtjai* (subj.), *mik laistjai* (subj.=imper.); . . . *jabai hwas mis andbahteþ* (indic.), *swēraiþ* (indic.) *ina atta* (John xii. 26) = "If a man *serve* me, *let-him-follow* me; . . . if a man *serveth* me, the father *honoreth* him";—*Jabai marzjai þuk handus þeina, afmait pō* (Mk. ix. 43) = "If thy hand *offend* thee, *cut it off*";—*Jabai sunus sijais guþs, wairp þuk þaprō dalap* (Lk. iv. 9) = "If thou *be* the son of God *cast* thyself down from thence." But Indicative: *Niba saei gabaŕrada iupaþrō, ni mag gasaŕhwan þiudangardja guþs* (John iii. 3, 5) = "Unless a man *is-born* from above, he *cannot* see the kingdom of God" (*i. e.*, "Only the man that *is* born . . . *can* see . . .");—*Ibai witōþ unsar stōjip mannan, nibai faurþis*

*hauseiþ fram imma?* (vii. 51) = "Pray does our law judge a man (=it *does not* judge a man), unless it first *heareth* (a defence) from him?" Generally therefore subj. or indic. in protasis requires subj. or indic. in apodosis. Yet we find: *Jabai hwas meinaim hausjai waúrdam jah [ni] galaubjai, ik ni stōja ina* (John xii. 47) = "If a man *hear* my words and *believe* [not], I *judge* him not";—and so in other similar instances.

(xxviii) In purely hypothetical sentences the protasis puts a case which is, or is assumed to be, the reverse of actual fact, and the apodosis states a conclusion which would be true if the protasis were true. The verb of each should be, in Gothic, as in Latin, in the pret. subj. (opt.); *e. g.*: *Jabai Mōsē galaubidēdeiþ, ga-þau-laubidēdeiþ mis* (John v. 46) = "If *ye-had-believed* Moses" (which ye have not), "in-that-case (*þau*) *ye-would-have-believed* me" (which ye do not);—*Ip barna Abrahamis wēseiþ, waúrstwa Abrahamis tawidēdeiþ* (viii. 39) = "If *ye-were* children of Abraham, *ye-would-do* the works of Abraham";—*Nih quēmjau jah rōdidēdjau du im, frawaúrht ni habaidēdeina* (xv. 22) = "If *I-had-not-come* and *spoken* to them" (as I have), "they *would-not-have-had* sin"; and many similar. In Mk. xiv. 5,—*Maht wēsi þata balsan frabugjan in managizō þau þrija hunda skattē . . .*,—the protasis is suppressed: "This ointment *might have been sold* for more than three hundred pence . . ." (*i. e.*, "if it had not already been wasted").

(xxix) In some instances there is an endeavour to adjust the sequence of tenses to the Greek (cf. §107 (vii)); as: *Jabai quēþjau* (pret.) *þatei ni kunnjau ina, sijau* (pres.) *galeiks izwis, liugna* (John viii. 55) = "If *I-were-to-say* that I know him not, I *should-be* like you, a liar" (*ἐὰν εἶπω . . . ἔσομαι . . .*; for *kunnjau*, see (xx) above);—*Jabai mein waúrd fastaidēdeina, jah izwar fastaina* (xv. 20) = "If *they-had-kept* my word, *they-would-keep* yours also" (*εἰ . . . ἐτήρησαν, . . . τηρήσουσιν*). But in the same verse we find: *Jabai mik wrēkun* (indic.), *jah izwis wrikand; i. e.*, "If (=inasmuch-as) *they* (actually) *have-persecuted* me, they *will* also *persecute* you."

#### (7) *Adverbial Clauses: Reason.*

(xxx) A conjectural or asserted reason or explanation, which is not the real and correct one, is introduced by *ni þatei* or *ni þēei*, and takes the subj.: it may be followed by the real reason in the indic. (cf. Lat. *non quod* + subj., followed by *sed* (*quia*) + indic.); thus: *Ni þatei attan sēhwi hwas . . .* (John vi. 46) = "Not that anyone *hath-seen* the father . . .";—*þatup-þan quap, ni þēei ina þizē þarbanē kara*



*wēsi*, ak untē piubs *was* jah arka *habaida* (xii. 6) = "And this he-said, not that he *cared* about-the poor" (as he pretended), "but because he *was* a thief, and *had* the money-box";—Ni p̄atei ju *andnēm̄jau* . . . ; ap̄pan ik *afarganga* . . . (Phil. iii. 12) = "Not that *I-have-attained* already . . . ; but *I follow-after* . . ."

(xxxī) But when a given reason embodies an actual fact, it takes the indic. even after a negative; as: *Ni faginōp̄ ei p̄ai ahmans izwis ufhausjand*, ip̄ faginōp̄, &c. (Lk. x. 20) = "Rejoice not that the spirits (actually) *obey* you, but rejoice," &c.;—Sōkeip̄ mik, ni p̄atei *sēhwup̄* taiknins, ak p̄atei *muti-dēdup̄* p̄izē hlaibē (John vi. 26) = "Ye-seek me, not because *ye saw* the miracles, but because *ye-ate* of the loaves."

(xxxii) *ei* and *untē*, after questions, especially dubitative questions, sometimes introduce a statement of the facts which give rise to the bewilderment: they may then be rendered "seeing-that," or "inasmuch as," and are followed by the indicative; as: *Hwa sijai p̄ata? . . . ei miḡ waldufniḡ ahmam anabiudiḡ . . .* (Mk. i. 27) = "What can this be? . . . *seeing-that* with authority *he-commandeth* spirits . . .";—*Iwas p̄annu sa sijai? untē jah winds jah marei ufhausjand imma* (iv. 41) = "Who then can this be? *seeing-that* both wind and sea *obey* him";—*Nibai usquimai sis silbin? ei quiḡip̄, p̄adei ik ganga, jus ni magup̄ quiman* (John viii. 22) = "Pray is-he-going-to-kill himself? *inasmuch-as he-saith*, Whither I go, ye cannot come."

(xxxiii) But *ei*, "on-the-ground-that," leading-in a reported reason, accusation, and the like, takes the subjunctive; as: *Jah sa frawrōhiḡ warḡ du imma ei distahidēdi aigin is* (Lk. xvi. 1) = "And he (the steward) was accused to him (the master) *on-the-ground-that he-had-wasted* his property";—*Abraham sifaida ei gasēhwi dag meinana; jah gasahw . . .* (John viii. 56) = "Abraham rejoiced *on-the-ground-that he-saw* (or *would-see*) my day; and he saw it . . . ." (Compare the similar case in rule (xxii).)

(xxxiv) Clauses introduced by *ibai*, "lest," or *ibai aúftō*, "lest perchance," state a ground of fear, and take the subjunctive; as: *Ni manna giutiḡ wein jungata in balgins fairnjans, ibai aúftō distairai wein p̄ata niujō p̄ans balgins* (Mk. ii. 22) = "No man poureth new wine into old bottles (or skins), *lest perchance* the new wine *burst* the bottles";—*Og izwis, ibai swarē arbaididēdjau in izwis* (Gal. iv. 11) = "I-am-afraid for you, *lest I-should-have-laboured* in-vain among you."

#### (8) *Adverbial Clauses: Final.*

In Ulfilas "final" clauses are very numerous: they may

denote End, Purpose, and Consequence or Result. Their mood is the subjunctive.

(xxxv) Clauses denoting the End, or intention, of an antecedent action are introduced by *ei*, which may be preceded by *dupē*, *dup-þē*, &c. If such a clause is to be negated as a whole, and to be followed by an alternative, *ni þēei . . . ak (ei)* = "not that . . . but (that)" are used; if its verb only, *ei ni*, "that . . . not," is used. Examples: Frawardjand and-wairþja seina, *ei gasaihwaindau* mannam fastandans (Mt. vi. 16) = "They-disfigure their-own faces, *that* (=to-the-end-that) *they-may-appear* unto-men to fast" (lit., "as-fast-ing");—Ibai lukarn quimip *dupē ei* uf mēlan *satjaidau*? (Mk. iv. 21) = "Pray is a candle brought" (lit., "cometh it") "*to-this-end (dupē)*, *that it-may-be-placed* under a bushel?"—Untē atstaig us himina, *ni þēei taujau* wiljan meinana, *ak (ei)* . . . (John vi. 38) = "For I-came-down from heaven, not (to-the-end) *that I should-do* my own will, but (that) . . .";—Akei faúra fareisaium *ni* andhaíhaitun, *ei* us synagoein *ni* *uswaúrpanai* *waúrþeina* (John xii. 42) = "But because-of the Pharisees they did not confess (him), *that they might not be cast out* of the synagogue."

(xxxvi) Here may be placed the similar clauses after *waírþa*-, "worthy"; *ganōha*-, "sufficient"; as: Ni im *waírþs ei* uf hrōt mein inn *gangais* (Mt. viii. 8) = "I am not worthy *that thou-shouldst-come* under my roof";—Hlaibōs *ni ganōhai* sind þaim, *þei nimai* hwarjizuh letil (John vi. 7) = "The loaves will not be sufficient for them, *that each one may-take* a little."

(xxxvii) The Purpose of an action is frequently expressed in Gothic, as in Greek and in English, by the infinitive (See next section); but sometimes by *ei* + the subj., just as also in Grk. by *iva* + subj. Not seldom, where the Greek has one construction the Gothic has the other. Examples: Ga-waurhta twalif *du wisan* (but Grk. *iva ὁσι*) *miþ sis*, jah *ei insandidēdi* (*iva ἀποστέλλη*) *ins mērjan* (Mk. iii. 14) = "He-selected twelve *to be* (= *that they-might-be*) with himself, and *that he-might-send-them* to preach";—Brāhtēdun ina in Iairusalēm *atsatjan* (*παραστήσαι*) faúra frauþin, . . . jah *ei gēþeina* (but Grk. *τοῦ δοῦναι*) *hunsl* (Lk. ii. 22, 24) = "They brought him to Jerusalem *to present* (him) before the Lord, and *to offer* (= *that they-might-offer*) a sacrifice";—Attaúhun þata barn *ei tawidēþeina* (*τοῦ ποιῆσαι*) *bi biuhtja* witōdis (27) = "They brought the child *that they-might-do* (= *in-order-to-do*) according to the custom of the law."

(xxxviii) To indicate Consequence or Result the Gothic sometimes uses *swaswē* or *swaei* with the infin., in imitation

of the Grk. ὥστε + infin. (See § 90 (xii)) ; but more frequently *swaswē*, *swaei*, *swē*, with a finite verb, either indic. or (rarely) subj., according as the clause is historical or argumentative : e. g. : Afslauþnōdēdun allai . . . swaei sōkidēdun (ὥστε σφ-ζήτειν) miþ sis missō (Mk. i. 27) = “*They-were* all astonished . . . *so-that they-questioned* with one another” ;—Galuk-nōda himius . . . swē warþ (ὥς ἐγένετο) hūhrus mikils (Lk. iv. 25) = “*Heaven was-shut-up, so-that there-was* a great famine.”

(xxxix) Here, grammatically, may be placed those composite commands which consist of a direct imperative (“do,” “see,” &c.) and a governed clause in the subjunctive ; as : *Taujaiþ ei jah* in *Laüdēkaiōn* (Grk. gen.) *aikklēsjōn ussing-waidau* (Col. iv. 16) = “*Cause that it-* (this epistle) *be-read* in the church of the Laodiceans” ;—*Saihwats ei* manna ni *witi* (Mt. ix. 30) = “*See that no man know-it.*” Some similar commands with *ibai* may be added ; as : *Saihwip ibai* fram izwis missō *fraquimaindau* (Gal. v. 15) = “*(Beware lest ye-be-, i. e.,) See-to-it that ye-be-not-consumed* of one-another” ;—*Saihwip ibai* hwas ubil und ubilamma hwas *usgildai* (Thess. I. v. 15) = “*See that no-one repays to-any-one-else (hwamma) evil in-return-for evil.*”

(9) *Adverbial Clauses: Temporal.*

(xl) *Faurþizei*, “before, before-that,” is the only temporal conjunction that always takes the subj. (opt.) after it ; as : Wait attā izwar þizei jus þaurbuþ, *faurþizei* jus *bidjaiþ* ina (Mt. vi. 8) = “*Your Father knoweth what ye need, before ye ask him*” ;—Jah nu quap izwis, *faurþizei waurþi* (John xiv. 29) = “*And now I-have-told you, before it-hath-come-to-pass.*”

(xli) Some other temporal conjunctions take the indic. or subj. according as their clauses refer to actual fact or to what is merely possible or still in the future ; in the latter case the temporal clause is generally attached to an imperative, optative, or subjunctive clause (See (xxv)) ; in the former to an indicative. Examples (Indic.) : Jah warþ, *bipē* is *anakumbida* in garda is . . . (Mk. ii. 15) = “*And it came to pass, as (=while) he (Jesus) was-reclining-at-table* in his (Levi’s) house . . .” ;—Jah þan *saiada*, urrinniþ (iv. 32) = “*And when it-is-sown, it-springeth-up*” ;—(Subjunctive) : þu þan *bidjais*, gang in hēþjōn þeina (Mt. vi. 6) = “*Thou, when thou-wouldst-pray, go into thy chamber*” ;—Quap izwis . . . ei, *bipē wairþai*, galaubjaiþ (John xiv. 29) = “*I-have-told you, to-the-end-that, when it-shall-come-to-pass, ye may believe*” ;— . . . dauþu frauþins gakannjaiþ, *untē quimai* (Cor. I.

xi. 26) = "... do-ye-show-forth<sup>1</sup> the Lord's death, *until he-come*." But the subjunctive may also follow a question in the indic.; as: *Hwa nu ist, brōþrjus, þan samap garinnaiþ?* (Cor. I. xiv. 26) = "How *is-it* then, brethren, *when ye come* together?" (but the pointing here is doubtful.)

### 109. The Infinitive.

(i) The Infinitive, in conformity with its substantival origin, may stand as object of a finite verb; as: (a) after the "auxiliaries," *skulan*, &c., in the composite futures treated in § 107;—(b) after some other similar verbs, as *wiljan*, *magan*, and the like, of which the sense was at last felt to be incomplete without a conjoined infin.; as: *Magt mik gahrainjan* (Mk. i. 40) = "Thou-canst cleanse me";—*Jabai hwas wili frumists wisan* ... (ix. 35) = "If a man *will be* (=wishes to-be) first ...";—*Ainshun ni gadaúrsta ina fraiþnan* (xii. 34) = "No one *durst ask* him";—(c) after ordinary transitive verbs; as: *Sōkidēdun attēkan imma* (Lk. vi. 19) = "They-sought to-touch him";—*Ohtēdun fraiþnan ina* (ix. 45) = "They-feared to-ask him";—... *þatei gadōb ist quinōm gahaitandeim guþ blōtan*<sup>1</sup> (Tim. I. ii. 10) = "... which is-befitting women *professing godliness*" (lit., "to-serve God");—and many more. (It will be observed that, while itself "governed" by the preceding verb, the infin. may "govern" a direct object of its own.)

(ii) Instead of a simple verb, a prædicative subst. or adj. involving a verbal notion may, in combination with *ist*, &c., appear with a following infin.; as: *Skula ist* (=skal) all witōþ *taujan* (Gal. v. 3) = "*He-is bound* (lit., *he-is a-debtor*) to-do (=keep) the whole law";—*Wēn habam* (=wēnjam) in izwis *mikilnan* (Cor. II. x. 15) = "*We-have-hope to-be-magnified* in you";—*Jabai gawilja ist* (=wili) *bauan miþ imma* ... (I. vii. 12) = "If *she-is willing to-live* with him ...";—*Mahteigs ist* (=mag) *guþ alla anst ufarassjan in izwis* (II. ix. 8) = "God *is able to-cause-to-abound* all grace among you";—... *lustu habands* (=gairnjands) *andlētnan jah miþ Xristau wisan* (Phil. i. 23) = "... *having a desire to depart and to be* with Christ."

(iii) For the accus. + infin. as = a clause, see § 87 (2, vii). This construction occurs (very rarely) after the verbs for "to hear" and "to see"; as: *Hausidēduþ ina siukan* (Phil. ii. 26) = "*Ye-heard that he was-ill*";—*Jabai nu gasathwiþ sunu*

<sup>1</sup> Ulf. seems to take *καταγγέλλετε* as an imperative.

<sup>1</sup> This is an attempt to construct an equivalent of *θεοσέβειαν*; similarly, *du akran bairan* (Rom. vii. 5) = *εἰς τὸ καρποφορῆσαι*.

mans *ussteigan* . . . (John vi. 62) = "What-and-if *ye-see* *the-son of-man ascend* . . ." (After these verbs of sensation the object is usually accompanied by a *ptcp.*: see next section, rule (x).) The following are additional instances of the accus. + infin. as equivalent to various forms of subordinate clauses:—*Quiþand usstass ni wisan* (Lk. xv. 27) = "They-say that *there-is-not* (any) *resurrection*" (reported speech = *Quiþand þatei* + indic.; § 108 (xix));—*Apþan ik quipa izwis ni swaran allis* (Mt. v. 34) = "But I tell you *not to swear at all*" (indirect negative command = *Faurbinda izwis ei ni swaraþ allis*: § 108 (vi));—*Haithait galeþ in sipōnjans hindar marein* (Mt. viii. 18) = "He-bade *the disciples go to-the-other-side-of the sea*" (= *Anabaþ in ei galipeina*, &c.) But note the *nom.* after the infin., as (properly) in the Grk., in Rom. ix. 3: *Usbida* (*usbidja*?) *anapaīma wisan silba ik* . . ., "I desire *myself-to-be* accursed . . ."

(iv) Similarly, the direct object of the verbs for "to make," "to cause," and a following infin. denoting the result of the action (§ 87 (3)), are considered by some grammarians equivalent to a clause; as in: *Baudans gatanþiþ gahaussjan*, "*He-maketh the-deaf to-hear*,"—i. e., "He-bringeth-it-about that . . ." Such equivalence is incontestable when a second accus. stands as a quasi-prædicate to the first; as in: *Gatauja inquis waírþan nutans mannē* (Mk. i. 17) = "I-will-cause *you-two to-become fishers of men*" (Cf. § 108 (xxxix)).

(v) Very rarely an infin. appears after a passive verb as the completion of a prædicate: the whole construction may then be regarded as the conversion of an active verb followed by an accus. + infin.; e. g.: *Bigitana warþ mis anabusn wisan du dauþau* (Rom. vii. 10) = "The commandment *was-found to-be* for-me unto death" (in the active, *Bigat anabusn wisan du d.*, "*I-found the commandment*, &c.).

(vi) The infin., with or without *du*, may stand as subject of a clause; e. g.: *Wiljan atligiþ mis* (Rom. vii. 18) = "*To-will is-present with-me*";—*Apþan mis liban Xristus ist, jah gaswiltan gawaúrki*; . . . *apþan du wisan in leika þaurftōzō in izwara* (Phil. i. 21, 24) = "But for-me *to-live* is Christ, and *to-die* (is) gain; . . . but *to remain* in the body (is) more-necessary on-your-account."

(vii) When a subjective infin. introduces a phrase, the art. *þata* is generally prefixed to it (See § 98 (x)); as: *Ip þata dusitan-af-taihswn-meinai nist mein du giban* (Mk. x. 40) = "But *to sit on my right hand* is-not mine to give";—or, without *du*: *Hwa ist þata us dauþaim usstandan?* (ix. 10) = "What is-it *to-rise from the dead*?"

(viii) Impersonal prædicates, like *gōþ ist*, *batizō ist*, &c.,

precede a subjective infin. or infin. phrase (Compare § 108 (xxiv, a)); as: *Ni gōþ ist niman hlaib barnē jah wairpan hundam* (Mk. vii. 27) = "It-is not good *to-take the children's bread and to-cast-it to-dogs*";—*Gōþ þus ist hamfamma in libain galeiþan, þau twōs handuns habandin galeiþan in gai-aiñnan* (ix. 43: see also 45, 47) = "It-is good for-thee *to-go into life* one-handed, rather-than, having two hands, to go into Gehenna";—*Hwaþar ist azētizō, du quiþan . . . , þau quiþan . . . ?* (Mk. ii. 9) = "Which-of-the-two is the-easier, *to say . . . , or to-say . . . ?*"

(ix) Rarely, with an impers. prædicate, an accus. + infin. may stand as subject; e.g.: *Warþ afslauþnan allans* (Lk. iv. 36) = "It-came-to-pass *that-all were-astonished*";—*Azētizō ist himin jah airþa hindarleiþan . . .* (xvi. 17) = "It is easier (for) *heaven and earth to pass-away . . .*"

(x) More frequently, after such prædicates, a dative + infin. occurs; as: *Jah warþ þairhgangan imma þairh atisk* (Mk. ii. 23) = "And it-came-to-pass *that-he went-through the-cornfields*";—*Warþ þan gaswiltan þamma unlēdin* (Lk. xvi. 22) = "And it came to pass *that the beggar died*";—*Azētizō ist ulbandau þairh þairkō nēplōs þairhleipān, þau gabigamma in þiudangardja guþs galeiþan* (Mk. x. 25, and also, with *Rapizō ist*, in Lk. xviii. 25) = "It-is easier *for-a-camel to-go-through*" (= *that a camel should, &c.*) "the-eye of-a-needle, than *for-a-rich-man to-go* into the kingdom of God"<sup>2</sup>.

(xi) A special function of the infin. in Gothic, as in English, is to mark the purpose of an action (See § 108 (xxxvii)), particularly after verbs denoting motion; as: *Quēmūn saihwan*, "they-came to-see"; *Hwa usiddjēduþ saihwan?* "What *went-ye-out for-to-see?*" (Compare the use of the Latin supine in *-um*.) Very rarely, after a verb of motion, *du* precedes the infin.; as: *Urrinniþ sa lausjands du afwandjan afgudein . . .* (Rom. xi. 26) = "The deliverer *shall-come-forth to turn-away* ungodliness . . ."

(xii) Where the Grk. (or Engl.) has two imperatives (the first implying motion), the Gothic substitutes for the second an infin. of purpose; as: *Gang þuk silban ataugjan gudjin* (Mk. i. 44) = lit., "Go *to-show* thyself to-the-priest" (= ὕπαγε, δειξόν . . . , "go, show," or "go and show");—*Hiri laistjan mik* (x. 21) = "Come-hither *to-follow* me" (δεῦρο, ἀκολουθεῖ μοι . . . , "come (and) follow").

(xiii) After other verbs *du* precedes the infin. of purpose; as: *Barteimaius sat faúr wig du aihtrōn* (x. 46) = "Bartimæus *sat* by the road-side *to beg*";—*Anþar ist manag þatei*

<sup>2</sup> The comparison is between the whole phrase *ulbandau . . . þairhleipān* and the whole phrase *gabigamma . . . galeiþan*.

*andnēmun du haban* (vii. 4) = "There-is many another-thing that *they-have-received to hold*."

(xiv) In other instances of this infin. *du* generally answers to the Grk. art. with or without a preposition; as: *Sōki-dēdun ana Iēsu weitwōdiþa du afdaupþjan ina* (xiv. 55 = "They sought testimony against Jesus *to-put him to-death*" (*εἰς τὸ θανατῶσαι αὐτόν*);—*Ibai gardins ni habaiþ du maþjan jah drinkan?* (Cor. I. xi. 22) = "Pray have-ye not houses *for eating and drinking?*" (*εἰς τὸ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν*)."

(xv) Between *du* and the bare infin. other words are occasionally inserted; as: *Warþ ganists þiudōm du in aljana bringan ins* (Rom. xi. 11) = "Salvation came to the Gentiles, *to bring* them (the Israelites) into (E.V., *to provoke* them to) jealousy." This may also occur when the infin. does not strictly denote purpose.

(xvi) For *swaswē* or *swaei* + *accus.* + *infin.* as equivalent to a clause denoting consequence or result, see § 108 (xxxviii).

(xvii) The Go. infin. (like others) must originally have been independent of "voice"; and although it was assigned chiefly to the active, there are extant not a few instances in which it renders, and must be rendered by, a distinctly passive form; as: *Quēmum mōtarjōs daupþjan* (Lk. iii. 12) = "The tax-farmers came *to-be-baptized*" (*βαπτισθῆναι*);—or with *du*: *Sa sunus mans atgibada du ushramþjan* (Mt. xxvi. 2) = "The son of man is-handed-over *to be-crucified*."

(xviii) But the Gothic sometimes attempts to indicate passivity by means of *mahta-* or *skulda-* + *ist* + *infin.*; which clusters stand as correlatives to the active *magt* and *skal* + *infin.* (See (i) above), as is shown in the first of the following examples:—*Skal sunus mans filu winnan* (act.), *jah uskiusan skulds ist* (pass.) . . . (Mk. viii. 31) = "The son of man *must suffer* much, and *must be rejected*";—*Maht wēsi þata balsam frabugþjan* . . . (xiv. 5) = "This ointment *might have been sold* . . .";—*Quinō . . . ni mahta was galēkinōn* (Lk. viii. 43) = "The woman . . . *could not be healed*."

(xix) More frequently, however, a passive infinitive is given either by a reflexive form or by *wairþan* + a *pass. ptcip.* Thus, in the parallel passage of Luke (ix. 22) to Mk. viii. 31 just cited, we have: *Skal sunus mans uskiusans wairþan*, "The son of man *shall be rejected*." So too: *Wēgs mikils warþ in marein, swaswē þata skip gahuliþ wairþan fram wēgim* (Mt. viii. 24) = "A great tempest arose on the sea, so that the ship *was overwhelmed* by the waves";—but (Reflexive): *Quēmum hailþan sik sauhtē seinaiþō* (Lk. vi. 18) =

<sup>3</sup> But *ἐν τῷ, πρὸ τοῦ*, and the like, + the infin., have a temporal meaning, and are rendered in Go., as in Engl., by adverbial clauses.

"They-came *to be healed* of their infirmities." (But the Gothic frequently shows an *ei*-clause as the equivalent of a Grk. and Engl. passive infin. (Compare § 108 (xixv)–(xxxvii)); as: Ni im wairþs *ei haitaidau* sunus þeins (Lk. xv. 19 & 21) = "I am not worthy *to be called* thy son" (ἄξιος κληθῆναι . . .).

(xx) It was shown in § 91 (xii) that *du* + the dative of a verbal subst. may be rendered by an infin.: reversely, a Go. infin. sometimes renders the Greek dat. of a verbal subst.; as: . . . ei uhteigai sijaiþ *fastan* jah *bidjan* (Cor. I. vii. 5) = ". . . that ye-may-be at-leisure *to-fast* and *to-pray*" (ἵνα σχολάσητε τῇ νηστείᾳ καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ,—"for-fasting and for-praying")<sup>4</sup>.

### 110. The Participles.

(i) For ptcps. in their adjectival use, see §§ 93–95; and as principal verbs, §§ 106 (iii) and 107 (vi).

(ii) In the use of ptcps. Ulfilas generally follows the Grk.; but he cannot, of course, render its finer tense-varieties; examples: Quam Iēsus in Galeilaia *mērjands* (κηρύσσων) *aīwangēljōn* . . ., *quiþands* (λέγων) . . .; jah *hwarbōnds* (παράγων) *faūr marein gasahw* Seimōnu jah Andraian *wairpan-dans* (ἀμφιβάλλοντας) *nati in marein*; . . . jah *suns aflē-tandans* (ἀφέντες, aor.) *þō natja seina laistidēdun afar imma* (Mk. i. 14–18) = "Jesus came into Galilee *preaching* the gospel . . . (and) *saying* . . .; and *passing-along*, or *as he passed along*, by the sea he-saw Simon and Andrew *casting* a net into the sea; . . . and forthwith *having-left* their nets they followed him."

(iii) In rendering from Grk. into English we frequently turn an aorist ptcp. followed by a finite verb into two finite verbs; as in verse 18 just cited,—ἀφέντες . . . ἠκολούθησαν, "*they-left* their nets *and followed* him." A similar rendering occasionally appears in Ulfilas; as: þaruh *ushōf* augōna Iēsus *jah gaumida* þammei manageins filu iddja du imma, *quaþ-uh* du Filippau . . . (John vi. 5) = "Then Jesus *lifted-up* his eyes *and perceived* that a great multitude was-coming to him, *and he said* to Philip . . ."; (but the Grk. is: ἐπάρας . . . καὶ θεασάμενος . . ., λέγει;)—Jah *usstigun* in skip iddjē-dun-uh ufar marein (17) = "And *they-went-up* into a ship *and were-going* over the sea" (ἐμβάντες . . . ἤρχοντο).

(iv) The Gothic ptcps. preceded by the article have to be rendered into English by a relative clause (§§ 95 (viii) and

<sup>4</sup> On the I-E. Infinitive see the elaborate treatise of Dr. Julius Jolly, to which I am indebted for one or two valuable suggestions.



98. (vi)) ; but the Grk. perf. ptep. with the article may also be rendered, in Go. as in Engl., by a relative clause; as: *Iftumin daga managei sei stōþ hindar marein sēhwun . . .* (John vi. 22) = "On the following day the multitude *which stood on-the-other-side-of the sea saw . . .*" (ὁ ὄχλος ὁ ἐστηκὼς . . . εἶδον . . .).

(v) Very important is the "absolute" construction (§ 87 (6, v)). The favorite absolute case in Gothic is the dative (just as the ablative is in Latin and the genitive in Grk.); e. g.: *Jah usleiþandin Iēsuā in skipa, gaquēmum sik manageins filu du imma* (Mk. v. 21) = "And *Jesus having-passed-over* (or, *when J. had . . .*) in the ship, there-came-together to him a great multitude."

(vi) This construction is often, apparently, turned into a prepositional phrase by *at*; but its real syntactic force is not affected; as: *At andanahtja jupān wisandin hweilai, usiddja in Beþanian* (Mk. xi. 11) = "*It being* already evening (or, *As it was now evening*) in-point-of-time, he-went-out into Bethany" (ὁ ψῆλας ἦδη οὐσης τῆς ὥρας);—*At allaim þan sildaleikjandam bi alla þœi gatawida Iēsus, quap Paītrus . . .* (Lk. ix. 43) = "*All then wondering* (or, *As all wondered*) at all the things that Jesus did, Peter said . . ."

(vii) A comparison of the Gothic, Grk., and Lat. shows that in very remote times the absolute construction was in a very unsettled condition as regards case. And within the Gothic itself, although the D. is generally used, yet the N., the G., and also (though rarely) the A. occur; as: (N.) *Jah waúrþans dags gatils . . .* (Mk. vi. 21) = "And a suitable day *being-come . . .*";—(G.) *Jah inwisandins sabbatē dagis . . .* (xvi. 1) = "And the sabbath day *being-come . . .*";—(A.) *Jah inn gangandan ina in skip, baþ ina saei was wōds . . .* (v. 18) = "And *as-he-was-entering* into a ship, he that had-been possessed besought him . . ." Noticeable is the use of *at* with such an accus. in Mt. xxvii. 1:—*At maúrgin þan waúrþanana . . .* = "And *when morning was-come . . .*".

(viii) But sometimes phrases that read like absolute phrases may rather (as the Grk. shows) be taken in apposition with a following pronoun; as (D.): *Dalaþ þan atgangandin imma af faírgunja laistidēdun afar imma iumjōns managōs* (Mt. viii. 1) = "And *as he came down* from the mountain great multitudes followed *him*" (καταβάντι δὲ αὐτῷ . . . ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ . . .);—(A.) *Usgangandan þan ina in daúr gasahw ina anþara* (xxvi. 71) = "And *as he was going out* into the porch another (daušel) saw *him*" (ἐξελθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν . . . εἶδεν αὐτὸν . . .).

(ix) The E.V. generally renders the Grk. absolute con-

structions by means of adverbial clauses. Sometimes the Gothic does the same; as: *Iþ þan seiþu warþ*, quam manna gabigs . . . (Mt. xxvii. 57) = "And *when it-was late*, there came a rich man . . ." (ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης . . .);—*Jah biþe warþ sabbato* . . . (Mk. vi. 2) = "And *when the sabbath was-come* . . ." (γενομένου σαββάτου).

(x) Verbs of sensation and perception mostly (as in the Latin) take an accus. + a ptcp. (which generally implies durative action) after them; as: *Gasaihwand þana wōdan sitandan*, jah *gawasidana*, jah *fraþjandan* (Mk. v. 15) = "They-see the-maniac sitting, and clothed, and in-his-senses";—*Weis gahausidēdum quiþandan ina þatei* . . . (xiv. 58) = "We heard him say (lit. saying) that . . ." (See also § 109 (iii).)

(xi) Verbs that denote ending and ceasing or ceasing-from and the reverse are, in imitation of the Grk., accompanied by a ptcp. in the nom.; as: *Biþe usfullida Iēsus anabiudands þaim twalif* . . . (Mt. xi. 1) = "When Jesus *had-completed* (∴ ended) commanding the twelve . . .";—*Ni hweilaidēdum bidjandans jah aihtrōndans*, ei . . . (Col. i. 9) "*We-have-not-ceased praying and supplicating* that . . ." But in Eph. i. 16 the verb and ptcp. are interchanged: *Unsweibands awiliudō*, "unceasing I-give-thanks" (but Grk., οὐ παύομαι εὐχαρι-στῶν).

(xii) The past or perf. ptcp. of intransitive verbs has an active rather than a passive sense,—*usgangana*-, "having-gone-out";—*waúrþana*-, "having-come-to-pass"; &c. And so, when used with the art.: *Sa us himina quumana* . . ., "*he that-came* from heaven."

### (ε) *Particles.*

111. (1) *Adverbs*.—(i) As their name imports, "adverbs" are generally attached to verbs to indicate the time, manner, place, or other attendant circumstance, under which an action is performed (§§ 82, and 87 (6)).

(ii) But those of "degree" may qualify adjectives; as: *Was auk (sa stains) mikils abraþa* (Mk. xvi. 4) = "For (the stone) was *exceedingly* large."

(iii) It has been shown (§ 93 (viii)) that adverbs with a preceding article may have an adjectival force: so also may adverbial phrases, whether attached to substantives or used absolutely (§ 98 (v), (vi)).

(2) *Prepositions* (§ 83).—(iv) Generally speaking, the office of a preposition is to bring a noun or pronoun into relationship with a verb: the prep. and its "governed" word,

together with any qualifying words attached to the latter, then form a conglomerate equivalent to an adverb (§ 87 (6, iv)).

(v) The instances in which prepositional phrases are attached directly to substantives or pronouns (See (iii) above) may have originated through the suppression of a verb or ptep.; so that "the bridge *over-the-river*" would be = "the bridge *stretching*" or "*which stretches* over the river"; &c. But however this may have been, such phrases must in actual usage be considered adjectival (§ 87 (4, iv)).

(vi) The prep. *in* after verbs of motion sometimes takes the accus. and sometimes the dat.; as (A.): Ahma ina ustanh *in aupa* (Mk. i. 12) = "The spirit led him away *into the wilderness*";—Gangats *in haim þō wiþrawairþōn* inquis (xi. 2) = "Go *into the village over-against* you";—but (D.): Quēmun *in garda* Seimonis (29) = "They came *into* Simon's house";—Ni bringais uns *in fraistubnjai* (Mt. vi. 13) = "Lead us not *into temptation*."

(vii) The Gothic, following the Greek, is fond of putting a preposition after a verb in which the same (or a closely similar) preposition appears as a prefix; *e. g.*: Jah warþ þairhgangan imma þairh atisk (Mk. ii. 23) = "And it-came-to-pass (that) *he went-through* the cornfield." So also: *afniman af* + dat., "to take-away from";—*mip-inn-galeiþan mip* + dat., "to go in along-with";—*atgangan du* + dat., "to go-up to"; and many similar. Occasionally even an equivalent adverb is also added; as: *Usgang ut us þamma* (Mk. i. 25) = "Come-out *out of* him." But sometimes, on the other hand, either the prefix or the following preposition is absent; as: *mipiddjēdun imma sipōnjōs is ganōhai* (Lk. vii. 11) = "Many-of his disciples went-*with* him" (so the Grk., *συνεπορεύοντο αὐτῷ*);—*Duþþē waurkjand þōs mahteis in imma* (Mk. vi. 14) = "Therefore these mighty-works operate *in* him" (but the Grk., *ἐν-εργοῦσιν ἐν αὐτῷ*).

### (3) Conjunctions.

(viii) As prepositions connect individual words, so conjunctions connect actual or virtual propositions. The conjunctions to be employed depend of course upon the logical relationship of the propositions to be connected; and hence a conjunction becomes a sort of exponent of the logical character of the clause it introduces.

(ix) Where conjunctions seem to introduce words or phrases only, these are generally incomplete clauses; as: Ni galeiþiþ imma in hairtō, *ak in wamba* (*i. e.*, *ak galeiþiþ imma in w.*) = "It goeth not into his heart, *but (it goeth) into his belly*" (Mk. vii. 19);—*Wastjōs is waurþun hweitōs swē snaiws*

(i. e., *swē snaiws ist hweits*) = "His garments became white as snow (*is white*)" (ix. 3).

(x) But *jah*, like our "and," is often merely equivalent to the sign +, linking together a number of individual words into a group which may be treated as one plural; e. g.: *Ganam Iēsus Paītru jah Iakōbu jah Iōhannēn, jah ustauh ins . . .* (Mk. ix. 2) = "Jesus took Peter *and* James *and* John, and led *them* up," &c.;—*Jah Marja sō Magdalēnē jah Marja sō Iakōbis jah Salōmē usbauhtēdun aromata* (xvi. 1) = "And Mary Magdalene *and* Mary the mother of James, *and* Salome bought spices . . ." (See also § 105 (vi).)

(xi) Many conjunctions that introduce subordinate clauses have necessarily come under consideration in § 108: of the rest, although they differ somewhat or altogether in *form* from the corresponding conjunctions of related languages, the uses are substantially the same. For the conjunctive character of the relative pronoun see §§ 103 & 108 (5).

(xii) *Ak* and *akei* differ in use; *ak* and not *akei* occurs after negative clauses only; as: *Ni bringais uns in fraistubnjai, ak lausei uns af þamma ubiliu* (Mt. vi. 13) = "Lead us *not* into temptation, *but* deliver us from the evil one."

(xiii) Corresponding to *þanei . . . þana . . . ; þatei . . . þata . . . ;* &c. (§ 103 (iii)); we find, among adverbial clauses, instances like: *þarei ist huzd izwar, þaruh ist jah hairtō izwar* (Mt. vi. 21) = "*Where* your treasure is, *there* will also your heart be."

(xiv) For syntactic purposes the compounds *þishwaruh-þei* and *þishwaduþ-þadei* or *-þei* may be considered as simple adverbial conjunctions (§ 104 (xiii)).

#### (4) Interjections.

(xv) *Ō* takes the vocative in direct address; as: *Ō kuni ungalaubjandō!* "O faithless generation!" (The substantives in such instances are really of the 2nd person.) But *ō* may also be used with the *nom.*, in expressions of admiration or contempt of persons or things spoken of in the 3rd person; as: *O diupþa gabeins handugeins guþs!* (Rom. xi. 33) = "*O the depth* of the riches of the wisdom of God!" In Mk. xv. 29,—*O sa gatairands þō alh!* E.V., "*O thou-that* destroyest the temple!" (*οὐὰ ὁ καταλύων τὸν ναόν*) is in the form of the 3rd pers., although it is difficult to render it as such into English. In a direct voc. Ulfilas, as we have seen (§ 89 (iii)), sometimes renders the Grk. art. by *þu* or *jus*.

(xvi) *Sai* often occurs independently of a subst., like our "lo": it then simply draws attention to the accompanying clause. It is sometimes so used in Gothic without any equivalent in the Greek; as: *Jah suns, sai, ahma ina*

ustauh in aupida (Mk. i. 12) = "And forthwith, *behold*, the spirit led him away into the wilderness" (*καὶ εὐθέως τὸ πνεῦμα . . .*).

(xvii) *Sai* (like *ἰδοῦ*, *ἴδε*, or Lat. *ecce*), when followed by a subst., generally takes it in the nom. case unaccompanied by a verb; as: *Sai, manna afēlja . . .* (Mt. xi. 19, Lk. vii. 34) = "*Behold, a gluttonous man . . .*" (*ἰδοῦ, ἄνθρωπος φάργος . . .*; *ecce, homo edax . . .*);—*Sai, aipei meina jah pai brōpejus meinai* (Mk. iii. 34) = "*Behold, my mother and my brethren.*"

(xviii) But the purely ostentative *ἴδε* = *ecce* is sometimes rendered by a complete proposition with or without *sai*; as: *Sai, sa ist wiþrus guþs!* (John i. 29) = "*Behold, (this is) the lamb of God!*" (*ἴδε ὁ ἀμνὸς . . .*);—*Sa ist sa manna!* (xix. 5) = "*This is the man!*" (*ἴδε ὁ ἄνθρωπος! ecce homo!* "behold the man!").

(xix) Exceptionally, *sai* exhibits an imperative force, and takes the accusative after it; as: *Sai þaua stap . . .* (Mk. xvi. 6) = "*Behold the place . . .*";—*Sai nu sēlein guþs* (Rom. xi. 22) = "*Behold now the goodness of God.*" (In the Grk. of this instance, but not of the preceding one, *ἴδε* also takes the accus.)

(xx) The unemphatic *καὶ ἰδοῦ*, is sometimes treated as a mere transitional conjunction and rendered by *þanuh*, *jah þan*, or *þaruh*; as: *þanuh atbērun du imma usliþan . . .* (Mt. ix. 2) = "*Thereupon they carried to him a palsied-man*" (*καὶ ἰδοῦ . . .*);—*Jah þan faúrhāh alhs disskritnōða* (xxvii. 51) = "*And lo, the curtain of the temple was-rent-asunder*" (*καὶ ἰδοῦ . . .*);—*þaruh* was manna in Iaírusalēm . . . (Lk. ii. 25) = "*And (lo) there was a man in Jerusalem . . .*" (*καὶ ἰδοῦ . . .*).

(xxi) *Wai* is followed by the dative; as: *Wai þus Kaúra-zein, wai þus Baíþsáidan!* (Lk. x. 13) = "*Woe to thee Chozazin, woe to thee Bethsaida!*"

(xxii) *Jai* is interjectional only with an accompanying vocative; as: *Ip þu, jai manna guþs! . . .* (Tim. I. vi. 11) = "*But thou, O man of God! . . .*"<sup>1</sup>.

## 112. Question and Answer.

(i) The use of the Interrogative Pronouns and Particles (§§ 66, 82 (7), 104) agrees, in the main, with that of the corresponding forms in Latin, Greek, English, and other cognate languages. With us, however, the *order* of words in a question (except when it begins with a pronoun in the nominative, as, "*Who-told-you?*") differs from the rigid order required in

<sup>1</sup> With these rules on Interjections should be compared those on the Vocative (§ 89).

an assertive proposition ; and for the simple present or pret. of a verb a composite with *do* as an auxiliary is mostly substituted ("What *does* he *say*?" = "He *says*—what?"). But in the Gothic no special effect of the interrogative form upon the order of words can be demonstrated.

(ii) *Ibai*, as an interrogative, is = Lat. *num*, which expects the answer "No." It may perhaps be best rendered by our half-ironical "pray does, or is," &c.; as: *Ibai þu maiza is attin unsaramma Abrahamas . . . ?* (John viii. 53) = "*Pray are-you greater than our father Abraham . . . ?*"—If *ni* follows *ibai* the answer should of course be "Yes"; as: *Ibai ni habam waldufni matjan jah drinkan?* (Cor. I. ix. 4) = "*Pray have we not the right to eat and to drink?*"—*Nibai*, as an interrogative, ought to have nearly the same force, but it generally implies uncertainty, and may perhaps be best rendered by our half-ironical negative assertion followed by a direct question; as: *Nibai usquimai sis silbin?* (John viii. 22) = "*He isn't going to kill himself, is he?*"

(iii) Some questions are without any introductory particle or pronoun; as: *Swa jah jus unwitans sijup? ni fraþþip . . . ?* (Mk. vii. 18) = "*Are ye also thus without-understanding? Do ye not perceive,*" &c.

(iv) With negative questions *niu* is generally used; but not seldom *ni* or *nih* occurs without *-u*; as: *Niu andhafjis waiht?* (Mk. xiv. 60) = "Answerest-thou nothing?" but: *Nih þata gamēlidō ussungwup . . . ?* (xii. 10) = "*Have-ye-not read that scripture . . . ?*"

(v) *An*, in most of the few instances in which it occurs, is coupled with *hwas* or *hwa* = "Who then . . .," "what then . . .," or, "and who," &c.: it always implies a reference to something already said; as: *An hwas ist mis nēhwundja?* (Lk. x. 29) = "*Who then is my neighbour?*"—*An hwa taujaima?* (iii. 10) = "*And what are-we-to-do?*" But once without *hwas*: *An nuh þiudans is þu?* (John xviii. 37) = "And art thou then a king?"

(vi) The merely affirmative or negative answer to a question may be given either by one of the particles *ja*, *jai* = "yea, yes," and *nē* = "nay, no" (§ 82 (7)); or by an assertion correlative to the question; or by both together; but the choice is mostly determined by the Grk. text; *e. g.*: *Ga-u-laubjats patei magjau þata taujan? Quēþun du imma, Jai, frauja* (Mt. ix. 28) = "Do-ye-two-believe that I can do this? They said unto him, *Yea, Lord*";—*Maguts-u drinkan stikl . . . ? Magu* (Mk. x. 38, 39) = "Can-ye-two drink-of the cup . . . ? *We-can*";—*þu is Xristus . . . ? Ip is quap, Ik im* (xiv. 61, 62) = "Art thou the Christ . . . ? And he

said, *I am*”;—Niu jah þu þizē sipōnjē þis is? . . . Nē, nī im (John xviii. 25) = “Art not thou also one-of this-man’s disciples? . . . No, *I am not*.”

(vii) On the modal varieties of direct and indirect question and answer see § 108, (x)–(xviii).

(viii) Alternative questions are mostly connected by *þau*, very rarely by *aiþþau*; and when the second question is a complete sentence (or virtually such) the interrogative particle is mostly used with it as well as with the first; as: Daupeins Iōhannis, uzuþ himina was þau uzuþ mannam? (Mk. xi. 30) = “John’s baptism, *was-it* from heaven, *or (was-it)* from men?”

(ix) But when the question starts with a pronoun the alternative clauses are reduced to substantives or infinitives in apposition with the pronoun; as: *Hwapar* ist azētizō, *du quiþan* . . . , þau *quiþan* . . . (Mk. ii. 9) = “Which is the easier, *to say* . . . , or *to say* . . . ?”—*Hwana* wileþ ei fra-lētau izwis, *Barabban* þau *Iēsu*? (Mt. xxvii. 17) = “Whom will-ye that I release unto you, *Barabbas* or *Jesus*?”

(x) After an impersonal prædicate such an infinitive may become the real subject; as: *Skuld-u* ist in sabbatim þiuþ *tauþan* aiþþau unþiuþ *tauþan*? *saiwala nasþan* aiþþau *usquist-jan*? (Mk. iii. 4) = “Is (*it*) lawful on the sabbath *to-do* good or *to-do* evil? *to-save* life, or *to kill*?” The change of person and mood is remarkable in: *Skuld-u* ist kaisaragild *giban* kaisara, þau niu *gibaima*? (Mk. xii. 14) = “Is-it lawful to give tribute to Caesar? or *are-we-not-to give*?” It would seem that Ulf. followed certain old versions in suppressing [ἦ οὐ; δὴ μὲν]: “Is it lawful . . . , [or not? *Are-we-to give*,] or,” &c.: the subj. therefore really marks one of a pair of direct dubitative questions (§ 108 (x)).

### 113. Order of Words.

(i) In this respect the Gothic text generally follows its Greek model; but it is not on that account to be assumed that Ulfilas distorted his native language (See Note<sup>1</sup> to § 87). Within certain narrow limits, indeed, Gothic usages are discoverable; and many instances of difference have already come before us.

(ii) When a single Greek verb-form is rendered by a composite the assertive component or auxiliary verb generally comes last; *e. g.*: *gamēliþ* ist = γέγραπται; *daupidai wēsun* = ἐβαπτίζοντο; *usfilmans waúrþun* = ἐξεπλήσσοντο; and many similar. Yet: *warþ gaskapans* (“it was made”) = ἐγένετο; and the continuatives, *was daupjands*, &c. (§ 107 (vi)).

(iii) Reflexive pronouns generally follow their verbs, not only when the Greek also shows a similar construction, but likewise when the reflexive verb and pronoun render a single Grk. middle form; as: *gawasida sik* = περιεβάλετο; *mitōdēdun sis* = διελογίζοντο; *skama mik* = αἰσχύνομαι; *þrafstei þuk* = θάρσει.

(iv) When a single Grk. verb-form is rendered by a Go. verb + a subst. or phrase, the verb generally comes last; as in *frijana* or *frijans bringan* = ἐλευθεροῦν; *garaíhtana dōmjan* = δικαιοῦν; *alívangēljōn mērjan* = εὐαγγελίζεσθαι; *ana armins niman* = ἐναγκαλιζέσθαι; &c., &c. Yet the verb may precede, if imperative, or if the subst. is attracted to a following clause or phrase; as: *Ni sijais galiugaweitwōds*, lit., "Be not a-false witness" = Μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσης; — *Afdailja tāihundōn dail allis þizei gastalda*, lit., "I-distribute the-tenth-part of all that I possess" = Ἀποδεκατῶ . . .

(v) Certain conjunctions have a fixed position irrespective of that of their Grk. equivalents; thus, *aþþan*, *if*, and *untē* always come first in a clause, although *dē* and *gáþ*, which they render, do not.

(vi) The negative *ni* immediately precedes its verb. The instances are innumerable; and the observance of the rule sometimes leads to a slight re-arrangement of words; as in Rom. viii. 1: *þaim . . . ni gangandan bi leika* = τοῖς . . . μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν.

Many other small differences may be discovered by a careful comparison of the Gothic with the Greek text; but this task must now be left to the diligent student.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY SECTIONS.

114. *The Gothic Vocabulary*.—About a sixth part of the words (as they stand in the lexicon) are borrowed names and terms (cf. § 53). These omitted, there remain above 3000 native words; of which, however, a large majority are compounded out of a comparatively small number of simpler words. Some of these simpler words are not preserved; but their existence in the time of Ulf. or previously is certified by their compounds (e.g., *\*taíran*, "to rend, tear," by *ga-* and *dis-taíran*; *\*swuran-* (m.), "a swearer," by *ufar-swaran-*, "an oath-breaker"; &c.). Unfortunately, the 3000 and odd words are but a fraction of the whole Gothic vocabulary. Of the language of native song and saga,—of war and sport,—of political, social, and family life,—of the older national religion,—of commerce, agriculture, and other arts; and of the terminology of natural objects, celestial and ter-



restrial,—animal, vegetable, and mineral : either very scanty specimens or none at all are preserved. This loss is the more to be regretted because Ulfilas shows, in the treatment of alien subjects and events, not only ease and elegance, but sometimes an exuberance and sometimes a precision and refinement of expression that even surpass his model : thus, for “to preach,” or “to preach the gospel,” we find *mērjan*, (*ga*-)*spillōn*, *waīlamērjan*, *waīlaspillōn*, *þiupspillōn*, and the borrowed *aiwangēljan* ; besides more general terms, such as (*ga*-)*kannjan*, *gateihan*, and *rōdjan* *ward* : and again in Cor. I. x. 25–28, “conscience” (συνείδησις) is rendered first by the exact equivalent *mīþwissei*, and then (apparently for the mere sake of variety) by *gahugds* and by *þūhtus*. In other instances, the piling-up of words is perhaps an attempt at an exact rendering of a Greek term to which a single Gothic word was hardly equivalent ; as : *afslauþuōðēdun sildaleikjandans* (Mk. i. 27), “they-were-astonished and wondered” (Grk. ἐθαμβήθησαν only) ; *swaswē hauhidēdun mikiljandans* *gub* (ii. 12), “so-that they-exalted and magnified God” (Grk. ὥστε δοξάζειν τὸν θεόν). Again, “world” = ὁ κόσμος = Lat. *mundus*, is Go. *faīrhwas* ; but if ὁ κόσμος means “the world of men” (as in, “the world cannot hate you,”) then we find *manasēps* : “world” moreover, as “inhabited earth” (ἡ οἰκουμένη), is *midjungards* : but the “world”<sup>1</sup> of our E.V. also means “the present age,” “the world of time” ; these may be given by *alds*, *aiws*, and *mēl*. So too, for “to deny,” we find *laugnjan*, prop. “to deny by hiding the truth,” i.e., by dissimulation, or indirectly (Mt. xxvi. 70) ; but “to deny point blank” and by direct assertion (as in verse 72) is *afaikan* (lit., “renounce”) ; while to “deny by act and deed” is *inwidan* (Mk. viii. 34, Tim. I. v. 8) : the Grk. in each instance is ἀρνεῖσθαι only. And, once more, in Lk. xix. 12, a nobleman goes “to receive” (λαβεῖν) a kingdom ; the Go. (more exactly) has *franiman*, “to receive (from some one else)” ; and (ver. 15) he returns “having received” it (λαβών) ; but the Go. has *andnimands*, “having taken it to or upon (himself).” If then, as is probable, the remains, as we have them, indicate what the Gothic was capable of in other and wider and more congenial fields of literature, it would seem that, by its copious vocabulary, its noble and sonorous inflexional forms, and its compact and forceful syntax, it was eminently fitted to produce bold and striking effects and to become a

<sup>1</sup> A-S. *weorold*, *woruld*, = O.H.G. *wēralt* : to this a Go. \**wairaldi* would be equivalent,—from *waira*- “man” and *aldi*- “age, time,” = a Lat. *sæculum virorum*.

worthy rival of the ancient classical tongues,—at any rate, of the Latin.

115. The student who desires to test the extant resources of the Gothic will no doubt have recourse to composition therein<sup>1</sup>: he will then find that the only subjects to which they can be applied with even moderate success are such as are essentially scriptural. Preeminently of this character is Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress"; of the earlier paragraphs of which it is here proposed to attempt a rendering<sup>2</sup>:—

(i) As I walked through the wilderness of this world I lighted on a certain place where was a den; and I laid me down in that place to sleep; and as I slept I dreamed a dream.

(ii) I dreamed, and behold, (I saw) a man clothed with rags, standing in a certain place, with his face from his own house, a book in his hand, and a great burden upon his back.

(iii) I looked, and saw him open the book and read therein; and as he read he wept and trembled; and not being able longer to contain, he brake out with a lamentable cry saying: "What shall I do?"

(iv) In this plight therefore he went home, and refrained himself as long as he could, that his wife and his children should not perceive his distress: but he could not be silent long, because—that his trouble in-

(i) Pairhleipands aupida pis fairhwaus bigat stap parei was filigri; jah galagida mik in pamma filigrja du slepan; jah slepands \*draum \*draumida.

(ii) \*Draumida, jah sai, manna wastjom disskritanaim gawasips, in stada sumamma standands; jah wlits is afwandips was af garda is; jah wesun imma bokos in handau jah baurpei mikila ana amsam.

(iii) Fairweitjands pan ik du imma gasahw ina uslukan pos bokos jah anakunnan; jah anakunnands tagrida jah reiraida; jah jupan ni magands pahan, gaunonds ufhropida stibnai mikilai quipands: "Hwa taujau?"

(iv) Panuh pan is, swa (sik) habands, galaip du garda sein-amma, jah, swa langa hweila swe mahta, gahabaida sik, ei quens is jah barna angwipai is ni gaumidedeina: appan swe-pauh lang mel pahan ni mahta,

<sup>1</sup> Massmann, to whose enthusiasm for everything Gothic later scholars are greatly indebted, had the vocabulary and idiom of the Go. remains at his pen's point, and used them with astonishing fluency. With a daring to be admired rather than imitated he even attempted to restore the old alliterative verse, and wrote therein more than one lengthy poem,—which, however, in spite of their cleverness, would, I feel sure, have considerably astonished Ulfilas. A judicious review of his *Liub wairþ jah wulpu witubnjis mērjandō* ("Song proclaiming the value and glory of knowledge"), with a favorable specimen therefrom, will be found in the collected "Kleinere Schriften" of J. Grimm (V. 263–273).

<sup>2</sup> The marks of quantity and of refraction are now omitted.

creased. Wherefore, at length, he brake his mind to his wife and children; and thus he began to talk to them:

(v) "O my dear wife (said he) and you the children of my bowels, I, your dear friend, am in-myself undone, by-reason-of a burden that lieth-hard upon me: moreover, I am for certain informed that this our city will be burned with fire from heaven; in which fearful overthrow both myself, with thee my wife, and you my sweet babes, shall miserably come-to-ruin, except some way of escape can be found."

(vi) At this his relations were sore amazed; not for-that they believed that what he had said to them was true; but because they thought that some frenzy distemper had got into his head: therefore, it drawing near night, and they hoping that sleep might settle his brains, with all haste they got him to bed.

(vii) So, when the morning was come, they would know how he did. He told them, Worse and worse: he also set to talking to them again: but they began to be hardened; they also thought to drive away his distemper by harsh and surly carriages to him: sometimes they would deride, sometimes they would chide, and sometimes they would quite neglect him.

(viii) Wherefore he began to retire himself to his chamber to pray for and pity them, and also to condole his own misery: he would also walk solitarily in the fields, sometimes reading and sometimes praying.

(ix) Now I saw upon a time, when he was walking in the fields, that he was, as he was

unte aglo is biaknoda. Duppe at andja mitonins seinos gaken-nida quenai seinai jah barnam seinain, jah swa dugann rodjan (du) im:

(v) "Quen meina liuba, jah jus, barna bruste meinaizo, ik, frijonds izwar sa liuba, silba fralusnoda, in baurpeins pizos (ana)kaurjandeins mik: jai, gatai-han ist mis bi sunjai patei skulda ist so baurgs unsara funin us himina gabrannjan: in pizaiei usagjandein uswalteinai weis allai—jah ik silba, jah pu, quen meina, jah jus, barna sutistona—\*armaba fraquistnam, nibai bigitam hwaiwa unpapliuhaina."

(vi) Panuh pan ana pamma us-filmans waurpun abraha ganipjos is; ni patei galaubidedeina patei sunjein wesi pata quipano fram imma; ak mundedun pei usgai-sips was: duppe, at andanahtja pan waurpanamma, wenjandans ei slepa is fullafrajands aftra waurpi, sniumundo lagidedun ina ana badi is.

(vii) Paruh in maurgin fre-hun ina hwaiwa is (sik) habai-dedi. Andhof im quipands patei Wairs und filu wairs; jah aftra dugann rodjan du im. Ip eis dugunnun gadaubidai wairpan; jah hugidedun patei harduba taujandans usdribeina siukein is; eipan nu himampjand ina; nu gasakand imma; jah nu sind unkarjans is.

(viii) Inuh pis iddja in hejpon seinu bidjan bi ins jah infeinan du im jah flekan sik silban; jah pan usgangands ut hwarboda in haijjai is ains, nu bokos anakun-nands, jah nu bidjands.

(ix) Panuh pan ik, nauhpanuh (at) imma hwarbondin in haij-jai, gasahw ina, bi biuhtja is,

wont, reading in his book and greatly distressed in his mind; and as he read he burst out, as he had done before, crying, "What shall I do to be saved?"

(x) (I saw also that) he looked this way and that way, as if he would run; yet he stood-still, because he could not tell which way to go.

(xi) I looked then and saw a man named Evangelist coming to him; who asked, "Wherefore dost thou cry?" He answered: "Sir, I perceive by the book in my hand that I am condemned to die and after that (to come) to judgment; and (I find that) I am not willing to do the first, nor able to do the second."

(xii) Then said Evangelist: "Why not willing to die, since this life is attended with so many evils?"

(xiii) The man answered: "Because I fear that this burden that is upon my back will sink me lower than the grave, and I shall fall into Tophet" . . .

(xiv) Then said Evangelist: "If this be thy condition, why standest thou still?" He answered: "Because I know not whither to go."

(xv) Then he gave him a parchment roll, and there was written within: "Flee from the wrath to come."

(xvi) So I saw in my dream that the man began to run. Now he had not run far from his own door but his wife and children perceiving it began to cry after him to return. But the man put his fingers in his

anakunnandan bokos is, jah aglon mikilai dishabaidana; jah anakunnands ufthropida is, swaswe faurpis, quipands: "Hwa taujau ei ganisau?"

(x) Jah wlaītoda hidre jah jaindre, swaswe wiljands pragjan; appan nauhpanuh gastop; unte ni wissa hwap pragidedi.

(xi) Insaihwards pan ik, gasahw mannan atgangandan du imma pizei namo Aiwangelista; saei frah ina quipands, "Hwa gretis?" Ip is andhafjands quap du imma: "Frauja, ufkunpa pairh bokos pos in handau meinai patei gawargips im daupau, paproh-pan stauai; appan gadaupnan ni wiljau, jah gasatjan mik faura stauastola gups ni gadars."

(xii) Quap pan du imma Aiwangelista: "Duhwe gaswiltan ni wileis, pande so nu libains swa managa ubila mip sis bringip?"

(xiii) Andhof sa manna jah quap: "Unte og mis, ibai aulto so baurpei so ana amsam meinaim sanqujai mik in undaristo airpos, jah ik driusau in gaiainan" . . .

(xiv) Quap pan du imma Aiwangelista: "Swa (puk) habands duhwe gastandis?" Andhafjands sa manna quap: "Unte ni wait hwap galeipau."

(xv) Panuh pan gaf imma Aiwangelista maimbranan, in pammei gamelip was: "Pliuh faura pamma anawairpin hatiza."

(xvi) Gasahw pan in \*drauma meinamma patei sa manna dugann pragjan. Jah jupan ni fairra wisandin imma garda seinamma, quens is jah barna gaumjandona dugunnun wopjan du imma bidjandona ei gawandi-

ears and ran on, crying: 'Life, life! eternal life!'"

dedi sik. Ip is. lagjands tingrans seinans in ausona seinā unsweibands pragida, hropjands: "Libains, libains! libains aiweino!"

## 116. Notes on the foregoing rendering.

(i) *pairhleipands*, "passing-through": ptep. = adverbial clause (§ 110); so also *slepan*ds, &c., below.—*Fairhwans*, here fig., not the geographical world, which would be (G. s.) *mildjurgardis* (§ 114).—*Bigitan*, "to find, discover."—*Filigrja*- (n.), "a den, lair."—*In pamma fl.*: Bunyan here does not discriminate between "place" and "den."—\**Draum*, \**draumjan*, reconstructed words.

(ii) *Sai + N.* (§ 111 (xvii)).—*Dis-skreitjan*, "to tear, rend (asunder)"; *wastjom disskr.*, "with torn clothes"; *gawasjan*, "to clothe."—*Sumamma* (§ 104 (xvii)).—*Wlita*- (m.), "face": (I have made clauses of B.'s *with*-phrases).—*Afwandjan*, "to turn away."—*Bokos* (§ 34 (3, i)).—*Wesun inma* (§ 91 (vi)).—*Ana umsam*, "on (his) shoulders": the Go. for "back" does not occur.

(iii) *Fairweitjan du*, "to gaze at."—*Uslukan*, "to open," infin. after *saihwān* (§ 109 (iii)).—*Pos b.* (§ 98 (iii)).—*Anakununn*, orig. perhaps = "*tacite legere*"; "to read aloud" would be *singwan* or *ussingwan*; but the distinction is not clear in Ulf.: both render ἀναγινώσκειν.—*Tagrjan*, lit., "to shed tears (*tagra*)": *reiran* (ai-verb), "to tremble."—*Jupan ni magands*, "no longer being able"; *pahan* = *tacēre*, "keep silence."—*Gaunonds*, &c., lit., "lamenting he-cried-out with a loud voice."—*Hwa taujan?* (§ 108 (x)).

(iv) *Panuh pan is*, "and thereupon he"; *swa* (*sik*) *habands*, "being in this state" = οὗτως ἔχων: the Go. *haban* (like ἔχειν) with an adv., and sometimes with the reflexive pron. also, denotes "to be in such or such a condition"; as in *ubilaba haban*, "to be ill"; *aljaleikos sik haban*, "to be otherwise"; &c.—*Galeipip* (or *gangip*) *du g. s.*, and in *gard seinana*, regular phrases for "he goes home."—*Swa l. hw. swe* (§ 84 (9)).—*Gahaban sik* = Lat. *se continēre*; used of self-restraint from uncleanness; but the essential meaning is more general.—*Ang.*, D. by *gaum*. (§ 91 (xiii)); for the mood, § 108 (xxxv)).—*App. sw.*, "but still," or "nevertheless."—*Lang mel*, advbl. accus., "(for) a long time": *langa*- always refers to time.—*Aglon*-, f., "trouble"; (*bi*-) *auknan* (§ 43 (2, iv)).—*At andja*: this phrase does not occur; but *andja*- (m.) is often used of time in the similar set phrase *und andi*, "to the end," "to the last," or "continually."—*Mitoni*-, f., "a thought"; *gakannjan*, "to make known, declare."—*Rodjan*, like *quipan*, may or may not take *du* after it.

(v) *Liubo*, wk. (§ 95 (vii)).—*Brusts*, f. pl. (§ 52 (4)), "breasts," E. V. "bowels."—*Fr. izwar sa liuba* (§ 95 (iv)).—*Fralusnan* (§ 43 (2, iv)): "*am undone*" involves the notion of the perfect.—*In + gen.* (§ 83 (4)).—*Kaurjan* or *anak.*, "to press-heavily(-on)," "to burden."—*Gateihan*, "to tell, show, declare"; *gat. ist mis bi s.*, "it-has-been declared unto-me of a truth."—*Skulda ist + act. infin.*

(*gabranñjan*) = pass. infin. (§ 109 (xviii)).—*Funin*, dat. (=instr.) of *fon* (§ 51 (3)).—*Usagjandein*, ptep. f., “terrifying” (a simple adj. = “fearful, terrible,” is not preserved: but an act. ptep. is sometimes used by Ulf. to render a simple Grk. adj.).—*Uswalteini-* (f.), “an overthrowing”; vb. *uswaltjan*, “to overturn” (cf. § 40 (2, xii)).—*Weis allai*, “we all,” sums up the composite subject that follows.—*Suti-* always appears in Ulf. with an abstract force.—\**Armaba* constructed upon the adj. *arma-*, “pitiable, wretched.”—*Fraquistnan*, “to perish,” lit., “be destroyed,” corrol. pass. to *fraquistjan*, “to destroy.”—*Nibai* takes indic.; *nib. big.*, &c., lit., “unless we discover how we-are-to-escape” (*unþapl.*: subj., § 108 (xii)).

(vi) *Ana* = “at,” with words denoting fear, amazement, &c.—*Usfilman-*, “amazed,” always weak.—*Abraba*, “exceedingly.”—*Ganipja-*, “kinsman,” occurs in pl. only.—*Ni patei . . . ak* (§ 108 (xxx)).—*Sunjeina-*, “true”; *wesi* (§ 108 (xx)).—*þata quipano* (§ 98 (vi)).—*Ak not akei* (§ 111 (xii)).—*Usg. was*, “he was beside himself” or “out of his senses.”—*At andan.*, &c. (§ 110 (vi)).—*Ei slepa*, &c.: lit., “that by sleep he would become sound-minded again.”—*Sniumundo*, “hastily.”—*Lag.*, “they laid him on his bed.”

(vii) *þaruh*, “now, and so.”—*In maurgin*, “on the morrow”; *in* + A., as in two or three other phrases, where we might expect the D.—*Frehun ina*, “they asked him” (as Bunyan means).—*Hwaiwa*, &c.; see the first note in (iv) above.—*Andhof qu.* (§ 108 (xviii)).—*þatei* + direct statement (§ 103 (xv)).—*Und filu wairs*, “much worse”; *und filu*, lit., “up-to a-great-deal”; cf. *und filu mais*, “a great deal more.”—*Aftra*, “again.”—*Gadaubjan*, “to harden, make callous”; used of the heart or mind.—*Harduba taujandans*, “behaving harshly”; *usdribeina*, “they would drive out”; *siukein is*, “his sickness or infirmity.”—*Eipan*, “therefore.”—*Nu, nu*, “now . . . now,” i. e., “at one time, at another time” (but such a series of *nu*’s does not occur in U.).—*Bimampjand*, “they deride”; *gasakand*, “they rebuke, reprove.”—*Unkarjan-*, “careless, neglectful” (*Ni sijais unkarja* + G. = “be not neglectful of” = “neglect not”: Tim. I. iv. 14).

(viii) *Inuh þis*, “on this account,” “therefore.”—*Hepjon-* (f.), “chamber,” E.V. “closet.”—*Bi* = “for” (§ 87 (5, v)).—*Infein-an*, pret.-oda, “to feel pity,” is sometimes followed by *du* + D., once by *in* + G.—*Flekan* s. s., “to bewail himself.”—*Usg. ut* (to be understood in B.).—*Is ains*, “he alone,” i. e., “by himself.”—*Haipjo-* (f.), “field” (*heath*), always sing. in Ulf.

(ix) *Nauh-panuh at imma . . .*, “while he was still . . .” (§ 110 (vi)).—*Bi biuhtja is*, “according to his custom” (*biuhtja-*, n.); or we might say, *swe biuhts was*, “as he was accustomed”; *agl. m. dish.*, “possessed by great distress”; *dishaban*, “to seize, take possession of,” is used only of strong feelings.—*Ei ganisan*, “that I may-be-saved”; *ganisan* is pass. in meaning; the corresponding act. (causative, § 43 (2, i)) is *ganasjan*, “to save.”

(x) *Wlaiton*, “to look, look round.”—*Hidre*, &c., “hither and thither.”—*Swaswe*, &c., “as-if wishing to run.”—*Ni wissa*, &c., § 108 (xii, xiii, xvi).

(xi) *Insaihwan*, "to look (at or on)."—*þizei u*, "whose name (was) Ev."—*Hwa* = "Why" (§ 104 (iii)).—*Uþkumþa*, lit., "I have got to know," ∴ "I perceive."—*Gawargjan*, "to condemn," with A. of person and D. of penalty.—*þaproh-þan*, "and afterwards."—*Staua*, f., "judgment"; hence *dagis stauos* = "day of judgment."—(*Daupau* and *stauai* replace B.'s infinitives; hence his "to do the first," "to do the second," are replaced by clauses.)—*Gadaupman* (correl. pass. to *gadaupjan*, "to kill") = "to die" (§ 79 (4) *in fine*); another word for "to die" is *gaswiltan*, used just below.—*Wiljau*, opt. in form only (§ 80 (2)).—*Gasatjan mik*, "place or present myself," ∴ "appear"; *faura stauastola*, "before the judgment-seat" (as in Rom. xiv. 10).—*Ni gadars*, "I dare not."

(xii) *So nu libains*, "the present life" (§ 93 (viii)).—*Ubila* is frequently used as a subst.; *m. s. bringip*, "brings with it."

(xiii) *Og mis*, "I fear me" (§ 91 (v)).—*Ibai uufþo* + subj. (§ 108 (xxxiv)).—*Sanqujan*, "to plunge, sink" (*trans.*).—*In undaristo airpos*, lit., "into the lowest part of the earth" (see Eph. iv. 9).—*Driusan*, "to fall"; in *gaiainan*, "into Gehenna" (=Tophet; always rendered by "hell" in the E.V.).

(xiv) *Swa* (p.) h.: see (iv) above.—*Galeipau* (§ 108 (xii)).

(xv) *Maimbranan-* (m.) = L. *membrānā-* (f.).—*In p.*, "in or on which."—*Gameljan*, "to write."—*þliuh*, "flee-thou"; *faura*, "from before"; *anawairþa* = Lat. *futuro-*, "to-come" (§ 107 (v)); *katiza-* (n.), "wrath." (These words occur in Lk. iii. 7.)

(xvi) *Jah jupan . . .*, "and he being now not far-from his own house"; *fairra*, prop. an adv., also has a prepositional force governing a dative (here *garda*).—*Wopjan*, "to call, cry"; *bidjandona*, ptep., "beseeching him": possibly *wopjan* might govern an *ei*-clause without this insertion; but no instance occurs in U.—*Gawandjan sik*, "to return."—*Unswuibands*, "without ceasing" (§ 110 (xi)).—*Libains*, not voc.; *aiweino* (§ 95 (vi)).

THE END.







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